Newsletter

Week of Feb. 19, 1955
Vol. 4 • Number 8

27-11-20

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH

2936 West 8th Street Los Angeles 5, California
DUnkirk 9-1356

★

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN, *Minister*
AMOS MURPHY, *Minister of Education*

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1955

11:00 a.m. Morning Service

"ARE WE ACCEPTING A CULT OF VIOLENCE?"

Address by Mr. Fritchman

11:00-12:30 p.m. Church School

12:30 p.m. U.F.S.J. Monthly Luncheon in Channing Hall

1:15 p.m. Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice Meeting presents MR. EDWIN A. SANDERS, Friends Service Committee, Pasadena — "PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES ON FORMOSA"

9:15 p.m. KABC (790 k.c.) "IS AGNOSTICISM THE FIRST STEP TO MATURE RELIGION?" — radio talk by Mr. Fritchman

SECOND ROBESON CONCERT

Sunday, March 13 - See Page 3

CALENDAR

This Church Welcomes Members
Of Every Race, of Every Creed

Friday, Feb. 18 — Unitarian Social Club

8:00 p.m. Folk Dance Party — Paul Barlin, calling; Sue Embree, singing. Refreshments. Donation. All Welcome!

Saturday, Feb. 19 — Best Years Club

12:15 p.m. Box Luncheon in Channing Hall February Birthdays Celebrated
1:15 p.m. Games, Community Sing.

Sunday, Feb. 20 — See Page 1

Wednesday, Feb. 23

8:00 p.m. Church Council, Severance Room
8:00 p.m. Actors Workshop, Unitarian Little Theatre

Thursday, Feb. 24

12:15 p.m. Women's Alliance Card Party and Dessert Lunch, Severance Room
8:00 p.m. Choir Rehearsal, Severance Room
8:00 p.m. Writers Group, Emerson Room
8:30 p.m. Hollywood Repertory Theatre — FINIAN'S RAINBOW, proceeds to Unitarian Little Theatre. $2.00

Friday, Feb. 25 — Channing Club Meeting

8:00 p.m. CHINA AND US — Anna Louise Strong, speaker. Refreshments. Starr King Room.

Sunday, Feb. 27

11:00 a.m. THE FIFTH FREEDOM Address by Rabbi Abraham N. Winokur Jewish Community of Pacific Palisades
12:30 p.m. Coffee Hour, auspices Starr King Fellowship
2:00 p.m. "THE SPANISH EARTH" — Spanish Civil War Film. Tax benefit. 50c. See Pg. 4
9:15 p.m. KABC (790 k.c.) — "THE CHURCH AND THE LOYALTY OATH — talk by Mr. Fritchman.

ALAMEDA CONFERENCE — FEB. 25-27

All persons planning to attend the Pacific Coast Unitarian Convention are urged to contact Dr. Harold Koppelman, WEbster 3-9163, if they havn't already done so.

MR. EDWIN A. SANDERS, FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, GUEST SPEAKER

MR. EDWIN A. SANDERS, Executive Secretary of the Friends Service Committee in Pasadena, will speak on PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES ON FORMOSA at the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice Meeting on Sunday, February 20 at 1:15 p.m. in the auditorium. Mr. Sanders, a former professor, has held the position of Executive Secretary of the Friends Service Committee for the past four years and has also been a member of the Adult Commission for Education with the Pacific Oaks School in Pasadena. A luncheon will be served by the Fellowship in Channing Hall preceding the meeting. Everyone welcome.

SECOND PAUL ROBESON CONCERT SUNDAY, MARCH 13, 8 P.M.

We are happy to announce that due to the demand for tickets to the first concert on Friday, March 11th, a second concert will be given by Mr. Robeson on Sunday, March 13th at 8:00 p.m. Tickets are on sale in the patio on Sundays, or by money order or check mailed to the church office. Admission $1.65, including tax.

DRAMA GROUP SPONSORS THEATRE PARTY

Tickets are on sale in the patio Sunday morning to FINIAN'S RAINBOW, playing at the Hollywood Repertory Theatre, for Thursday, Feb. 24. Admission $2.00, proceeds to the Unitarian Little Theatre.

NEW LITERATURE

The January Sermon of the Month, "Five Resolutions for '55" is available on the Literature Table in the foyer on Sunday or by mail orders, 10c each. (Sermon of the Month subscription (10 issues a year) $1.25.) Copies of Dr. Harry F. Ward's Forum talk, "Our Political Morality in a Time of Need," may also be purchased at 10c each. Copies of the KABC radio interview with Dr. Ward on the status of religious freedom today may be had without cost. A reminder is given about the special table in the patio where sermons published before September 1954 may be obtained for free distribution or mailing to friends.

CHANNING CLUB PRESENTS ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Anna Louise Strong, writer, lecturer and traveler will speak on CHINA AND US at the next meeting of the Channing Club on Friday, February 25th at 8 p.m. in the Starr King Room. Refreshments. Collection. Everyone welcome.

"THE SPANISH EARTH" FILM
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 27—2 P.M.

"THE SPANISH EARTH"—film depicting the issues behind the Spanish Civil War will be shown on Sunday, February 27th at 2 p.m. in the auditorium. The film was directed by Joris Ivens in Spain with photography by John Ferno and narration written and spoken by Ernest Hemingway. (1937). Tax benefit. Admission 50c.

First Unitarian Church
2936 West 8th Street
Los Angeles 5, California

Return Postage Guaranteed
28

[Fritchman]

February 14, 1955

Rev. Stephen Fritchman
First Unitarian Church
2936 West Eighth Street
Los Angeles 5, California

Dear Dr. Fritchman:

I have your letter of February 10th, and thank you so much for letting me see your very interesting sermons. I am greatly honored in the use you have made of my book.

That book is one of the things that drive men mad in these times. It was published by the Viking Press and had a fair circulation. Then they stopped printing it, I am sure simply because of pressure since I have continually had in the last few years inquiries as to whether it could be obtained. They offered not long ago to sell me the plates at a reasonable price, and I rather think I shall have to buy them.

Of course then the difficulty is getting circulation for a book that has not got the publishers' organisation back of it.

With regard to Stanley's book, the copyright has long expired and you need feel no restraint in quoting it.

I am very glad Robeson is going to appear at your church.

We have no plans at present for coming to the West Coast. When we do we shall certainly let you know.

My best regards to you and Mrs. Fritchman.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-18-3

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH

Telephone DUnkirk 9-1356 • 2936 West Eighth Street • Los Angeles 5, California

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN
Minister

February 18, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your prompt response and permission to quote from your book. We have sent the sermon to the printers and it should be off the press soon. I shall, of course, send you copies of the sermon when it is printed.

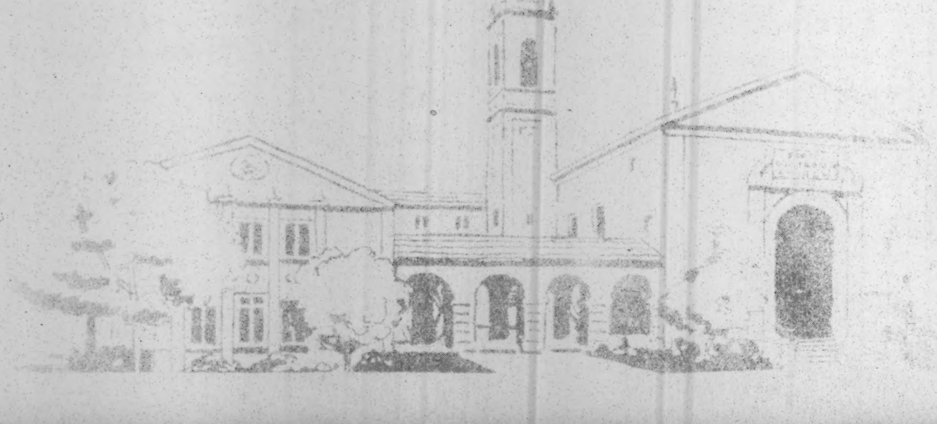
Again, many, many thanks.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Stephen H Fritchman
Stephen H. Fritchman

27-18-18



[FISK]

C
O
P
Y

BOOK ORDER

(Fisk Sale)

To: The Blue Heron Press
47 West 63 Street
New York 23, N Y

From: W Dickerson Donnelly
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn

Re: The Souls of Black Folk, by W E B DuBois

Send copy of book to:

Mrs J D Hale
601 Moscow Street
Hickman, Ky

March 19, 1955

April 18, 1955

Mr. L. Howard Bennett
311 Produce Bank Building
Minneapolis, Minnesota

My dear Mr. Bennett:

At this late date I venture to call to your attention a case in which I am sure you are already interested, and that is Lee Lorch of Fisk University.

I merely want to say that I know him personally and have known him for some time, and he really is a fine and self-sacrificing young man.

I hope you can do something to save him from being thrown to the dogs, and if you can I trust you will.

I meant to write before but I have been absent on a visit to Haiti and only got home a week or so ago.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-61

MEMORANDUM

To: Members of the Board of Trustees of Fisk University   Date: April 25, 1955

From: L. Howard Bennett   Re: The matter of Dr. Lee Lorch

42/2A/45

Since September, 1954 Fisk and her Board of Trustees have been confronted and occupied with the matter of Dr. Lee Lorch. The meeting of the full Board on October 28, 1954 devoted almost all of its time to that problem, and the special meeting of the Executive Committee was called for that exclusive purpose. In a few days the minutes of both meetings will be presented to the full Board for its consideration and action. The minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee are the more important as they relate to this affair. The minutes will show that I voted in the negative to the action taken at that time in regards to Dr. Lorch. I wish to state to my fellow Board members my reasons for dissenting from the majority action.

The Fisk Board, and membership on it, constitutes and involves much more than being a policy making body. Made up of persons of different racial, religious, and economic backgrounds; northerners and southerners; college professors and business men; scientists and educators; lawyers, doctors, dentists, clergymen and other professionals; it provides perforce a forum, an arena for discussion and debate which for all of us has to be an educational process. Our diversity has value, but for it to be so, it requires that each of us and all of us have an appreciation for, and an understanding of these differences, and allow for their unfettered expression. The members of this Board are not expected to see eye to eye on every issue that arises for its consideration, but I believe that from free discussion in an atmosphere of mutual respect we can find a common ground of understanding on which to resolve the most controversial issues.

The composition of this Board confers upon us a unique function: We constitute a bridge of understanding across the chasm of suspicion and distrust which developed after Emancipation and during Reconstruction, and the years which ensued. We do not, however, discharge that responsibility and that obligation by insinuations, innuendoes, discourtesy, threats of resignation, or resignation. If this is to be an educational process, if we are to join hands and construct a bridge of understanding, then there must be here an atmosphere in which we can feel free to make a mistake--a mistake in ideas, thought, or choice of language, and where some inadvertence in speech, or even some error in judgment will not put in issue the individual's sincerity, genuineness or integrity. If we have that understanding, we can speak freely and with candor.

The Lee Lorch affair is made most difficult because of the complex issues involved, as well as the many and complex publics to which the University is accountable. We have to take into consideration the support we receive from the educational foundations, and from our individual donors, as well as business and industrial concerns. We have to decide this matter with consideration for our faculty and the academic profession. We must be vitally concerned about our students and alumni, the Negroes, Jews and other minority groups in the United States, including that amorphous entity called "the liberals," and then there is the South--particularly Nashville and Middle Tennessee. There are these issues to be considered and analyzed in determining what we do:

The right to due process.

What are the rights of one threatened with dismissal to seek the aid and support of people on and off campus to assist him in his efforts to maintain his job?

42/2A/46

What of Academic Freedom and the extent to which a faculty member can discharge what he considers to be his citizenship responsibilities?

The issue of Communism vs. our democratic way of life.

What will happen to the minds and hearts and spirits of the youth who have been committed to our charge?

I- Dr. Lorch was denied due process: Opportunity for a fair hearing after being informed of the charges preferred against him.

This decision of the Executive Committee should not be allowed to stand at this time because we have denied Dr. Lorch the fundamental and basic elements of due process. It will probably be argued that Dr. Lorch has had his day in Court. Our statement released to the press said, "It (the Board) also listened to Dr. Lorch, who appeared and read a statement and answered questions." His appearance, however, cannot be construed to be a hearing. When Lorch appeared on October 28, 1954, he devoted almost all of his statement to a defense of his right to refuse to answer certain questions asked by the Committee, and his right to invoke the First Amendment as a constitutional guarantee to so do. And at that time he could only assume that his professorship was in danger because of the way he conducted himself at the Dayton hearings. Lorch was never told in specific terms what were the charges that were being made against him. Not knowing what the charges were, he had no opportunity to prepare an answer and defend against them. He was never told who was making what accusations, and not knowing, and being deprived of a formal hearing, he had no opportunity to confront his accusers, listen to their testimony and cross-examine them. In short, Dr. Lorch was denied due process: Notice of a hearing, a statement of the charges preferred against him, and opportunity to answer and defend with counsel of his own choosing.

II- The complained of conduct of Dr. Lorch was provoked by the University. In the light of the facts, he had a right to seek support to retain his teaching position.

The Executive Committee, in its statement for release to the press in November, 1954, stated that Dr. Lorch was not being reappointed because certain "responsibilities have not been 'conscientiously' fulfilled, and because the Board of Trustees disapproves the actions of Dr. Lee Lorch subsequent to his hearing before the Un-American Activities Committee in the strong belief that they are detrimental to the best interests of Fisk University." In short, it was alleged that his conduct was not consistent with the type of behaviour expected from a responsible member of a university community. But, before that charge, as the basis for his dismissal, can acquire persuasive validity, we must view his conduct subsequent to the hearings before the Un-American Activities Committee against the backdrop of the entire surrounding circumstances. What was it that set in motion the subsequent conduct and actions of Dr. Lorch? The contentions of the Board appear to be posited on the assumption that Lorch came back to the campus and commenced a program of propaganda dissemination, and petition-signing, and letter writing to obtain University community support for his refusal to answer certain questions before the Committee, and that that alone inspired or set in motion his conduct. These are not the facts. Before Lorch acted, the University first acted. There were news releases to the effect that prompt steps would be taken to dismiss a teacher who would invoke the Fifth Amendment. And it would appear the same would apply to invoking the First Amendment. We moved first. Then it was, having been advised steps would be taken to have him dismissed, that Lorch, his friends, associates, and others became busy, eager-beavers to protect his teaching position.

42/2A/47

It was the publicly announced intention to have Lorch fired that triggered the activity and action on the part of Lorch and others about which we complain. I submit that under such circumstances, it is not only natural, and quite understandable for one to rally persons around to help him maintain his position, but that he had a right to protect his job in which inhered certain property rights and aspects of his individual liberty.

If our action stimulated the conduct of Lorch, and if that action were directed at the protection of interests and rights which one should properly protect, how can we, in good conscience, penalize him for reacting to our proposed and threatened dismissal? Could we, or should we expect him to remain silent, inert and inactive in the face of such a threat?

Our position, to analogize, is comparable to that of the officials of a small village who, in the fall or spring of the year, recognizing the need to clean out dead leaves and underbrush, decide to do so by starting a brush fire in the outlying areas. So the town officials start the fire, but soon, due to a change in the direction and velocity of the wind, the fire gets out of control, spreads rapidly, and begins to endanger the houses and barns of the village inhabitants living closest to the area. Seeing the imminent danger and the encroaching fire, the nearest villager runs to his neighbors, alerts them, points out to them the danger threatening him particularly, and all of them generally, and asks them to help him beat out the fire. Most of them agree to help and respond immediately--on a few pressure had to be exerted. But, in the process of saving his home, the villager and his helping neighbors made a lot of noise, they yelled out orders and loudly gave directions, they ran hither and yon, and they created a commotion. The village authorities, who started the fire in the first place, then arrested the ringleader and charged him with disorderly conduct, disturbing the peace and inciting to riot. Why? Because in his panic to get help and his frenzied efforts to protect his threatened property and interests from a fire officially started, he and his neighbors created noise, disorder, and probably interrupted the orderly processes of village government. If you were either a judge or a jury and such a case came before you, I feel certain you would laugh it out of court and dismiss the case at once. Yet, to a marked degree, we are doing to Lorch exactly what the village officials attempted to do to the resident whose house was in the path of the advancing disaster.

It has been emphasized at different times that the unbecoming behaviour of Lorch was not an isolated incident, but rather it was part of a pattern. There are two observations to be made in connection with that allegation. First of all, since the stated reason for his dismissal is his conduct subsequent to the hearings, we are limited to a consideration of that course of conduct alone, except insofar as his prior conduct would have been necessary to establish the identity of Lorch as the actor. Second, if his unbecoming behaviour was a pattern, the University had a responsibility to advise him of that evaluation and direct and order him to either modify, or cease and desist. Without that warning and notice, Lorch could understandably acquire a belief and a reliance, in the absence of any protest about his conduct, that if his conduct were not approved, in the least it was not found objectionable. When such a reliance and sense of security is allowed to develop, those of us who so permit have a moral, as well as a legal responsibility to indicate to the individual a change in our attitude in regards to the way he conducts himself. This, to my knowledge, was never done. We have not been advised that any prior conduct of Lorch has resulted in his being warned, cautioned, admonished, or told to "cut it out," because his behaviour was not in good taste, or of good judgment, or inimical to the University's best interests.

42/2A/48

III. The decision of the Executive Committee, absent due process, and, viewed in the light of surrounding circumstances, is violative of Fisk ideals and traditions, and productive of undesirable reactions and results.

The decision of the Executive Committee on November 18, 1954 is affected with the taint of pressure and duress. The decision was the product of the emotion packed meeting of the full Board held on October 28, 1954. That meeting ended in chaos. We were confronted with an ultimatum. When the Board voted in a manner contrary to the wishes of Mr. May, he tendered his resignation and that of Mr. Wendell Philips and advised us he was going to forthwith advise the press that he and Mr. Philips had resigned. Over our heads hung the sword of Damocles--suspended by a single hair. To permit Mr. May and Mr. Philips to resign and announce their resignations at that time would have been most unfortunate for Fisk. We implored him to hold the decision to resign in abeyance. He agreed, on the condition that some decision be reached in three weeks. Three weeks, almost to the day, the Executive Committee met and submitted an acceptable decision.

The Executive Committee was an unfortunate choice for referral of the matter. There were no teachers or professors on that committee. As to Lorch, not any of his peers sat in judgment on him.

Dismissal without a fair hearing is violative of the ideals and traditions of Fisk and will produce undesirable and negative attitudes and results. Our faculty and the teaching profession would consider this, not what we have proclaimed in our statement, but rather for what it is under the facts and circumstances present. It would restrain our faculty members from exercising their citizenship responsibilities, it would delimit their participation in community affairs, it would cause them to shun controversial issues which could better be settled with their intelligence and academic objectivity being present.

Since this Lorch matter does involve conscience, the action now proposed would create, in the minds of our teachers, feelings of insecurity, to say the least, and fear in their hearts and minds, to imagine the worst. Such teachers, to my mind, cannot perform their function in a school such as Fisk, for they have a responsibility, if they have the ability, to inculcate in our students a social sensitivity that enables them (the students) to be constructive and intelligent citizens. Rightly would they say that we enunciate, in words, academic freedom as a principle, but permit it, by our actions, to go by default.

If dismissal or Lorch has serious implications for the faculty, they are even more serious for the students. Rightly or wrongly the activities and interests of Dr. Lorch from Stuyvesant Town in New York to Fisk in Nashville has been closely identified with the fight for complete and total emancipation of the Negro. Not just against discrimination, but also against segregation. Whether we like it or not, he has acquired something of a symbolic status. I have said before, and I repeat now, that a great wrong would be done to the students of Fisk--our potential leadership--if by any means they were led to believe that Lorch's crusading spirit, his interest in and zeal for fighting for full democracy for Negroes had any influence on his being dismissed. The effect of such action on the hearts and minds and spirits of our young and malleable students would be traumatic and damaging. Fisk has a rich and justly proud heritage of sending out into the stream of American life successive generations of intelligent and courageous leaders. Thas has been our mission. We must do nothing now to adulterate or polute that stream, or to abandon that mission.

There are alumni who, if appraised of all the facts, would be sorely disturbed. They would feel that their Alma Mater was being subjected to the persistent and powerful reactionary pressures of the South; that we were bending in the wind of illiberal forces in Nashville and Middle Tennessee; that we were condemning Lee Lorch to dismissal because, among other things, he dared to identify himself with the fight for complete freedom for Negroes and had the temerity to seek to have his [redacted] daughter~~s~~ enrolled in a Negro school in Nashville, Tennessee.

BOOK ORDER

(Fisk Sale)

To: The Blue Heron Press
47 West 63 Street
New York 23, N Y

From: W Dickerson Donnelly
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn

Re: The Souls of Black Folk, by W E B DuBois

Send copy of book to:

Dr W E Miller
1040 Dalton Street
Jackson 3, Miss

April 25, 1955

HALL, SMITH AND HEDLUND
ATTORNEYS AT LAW

DOUGLAS HALL
WYMAN SMITH
GEORGE HEDLUND

L. HOWARD BENNETT
LEONARD T. JUSTER
THOMAS G. FORSBERG
PAUL ENGELHARD

311 PRODUCE BANK BUILDING
MINNEAPOLIS 3, MINNESOTA
FILMORE 1481

COON RAPIDS, ROUTE 7
ANOKA, MINNESOTA
ANOKA 1266 W 2

June 14, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

42-17-91

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I was very pleased to have your letter of April 18, 1955 in regard to the Lorch matter at Fisk University. As you know, I was the lone dissenter on the Executive Committee against their recommendations concerning Dr. Lorch. I at one time had hopes that when the matter was brought again before the full board we would have been able to muster sufficient strength to modify at least, if not entirely overcome the recommendations of the Executive Committee. I regret to inform you that while several of us persisted to the end we were pretty much overwhelmingly defeated in our effort to accord to Lee Lorch the fair considerations to which he was entitled.

Lorch was a victim of the hysteria which has been sweeping the country but which I now believe to be abating to some extent. I personally feel that if this whole thing had commenced at this time rather than in the fall of 1954 we would have avoided the kind of embarrassing and humiliating situation in which our alma mater finds itself as a result of the whole affair.

I thought you would be interested in getting my version of the whole matter and while it is not complete in every detail it does provide you with some idea in gist of why I took the position that I did. Percy Julian and William Ziegler along with Sadie Daniel St. Clair worked in the interest of fair play, academic freedom and stood with me to the end. While we lost Lorch, I do feel that our fight to the end did have the effect of reasserting, and I trust saving, for Fisk some of her basic and fundamental ideals and traditions.

Give my kindest regards to Mrs. Du Bois and my hope that in the event I get to New York this summer I will have the pleasure of seeing you again.

Very sincerely yours,

L. Howard Bennett

L. Howard Bennett

LHB:ms

June 24, 1955

42-1A-90

Mr. L. Howard Bennett
c/o Hall, Smith and Hedlund, attorneys
311 Produce Bank Building
Minneapolis 3, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Bennett:

Thank you very much for your letter of June 20. Whenever you are in New York, telephone MAin 4-2929, our home. We will be glad to have you call.

Very sincerely,

W. E. B. DuBois

W.E.B.D./el

W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, N.Y.

May 10, 1955

Rev. Kenneth R. Forbes
[redacted]
Philadelphia 59,
Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Forbes

The American members of the World Peace Council are suggesting to the Council, which meets at Helsinki, Finland, June 22-29, 1955, the names of Americans interested in Peace who would be willing to accept membership on the Council if elected.

Such membership involves no especial duties but indicates that the person so elected is interested in world peace and active in its furtherance.

I would be very glad if you would indicate to me at your earliest convenience your attitude toward this nomination.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh W.E.B. Du Bois

I should, of course, be glad to accept membership in the World Peace Council, if chosen, as evidence of a determined concern for world peace. (I wish it were possible for me to attend the Helsinki gathering.)

Kenneth Ripley Forbes
(The Rev.) Kenneth Ripley Forbes
135 West Upsal St., Philadelphis, 19, Pa.

27-14-42

21 E. 109 St

James W. Ford

April 26, 1955

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
25 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Your letter to Ben Davis was given to me for delivery, and I have mailed it to him at his home at -

10

I West 126th Street
New York, N.Y.

Sincerely yours,

James W Ford

James W. Ford

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Ans

James W. Ford
21 East 109th Street,
New York, N.Y.

EN-9-1174

November 12, 1955

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,

Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am writing this letter to you on my own personal initiative not only because I believe the attempt of the Government to deport Miss Claudia Jones to the West Indies is outrageously wrong, arbitrary and repulsive, but also because I believe the manner in which her defense is developing is insufficient.

I may be saying the rashest thing I've ever said. But frankly I am thoroughly dissatisfied with the inadequate efforts displayed by her own friends.

42-1A-56

For the life of me I cannot understand how it is possible that this splendid young Negro woman can be permitted to be driven from this country so quietly.

I believe this is the first time in the history of the country a Negro woman has been subjected to the tyranny of deportation. Moreover, the Government is now instituting a quiet campaign of intimidation against those of her friends who are aiding her, claiming that they are obstructing the law.

I am writing this letter to you finally to ask you if I may talk with you personally about the case of Claudia Jones. A petition on her challenge of the validity of the deportation provisions of the Walter-McCarran Act will be heard before Judge McGohey Thursday, November 17, and if it is at all possible I should like to see you on Monday or Tuesday.

Sincerely yours,

James W. Ford
James W. Ford

P.S. I ask you to pardon my sending this letter to your home rather than to your office.

McArthur

February 1, 1955

Ford Foundation
977 ~~655~~ Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 22

Gentlemen:

You are, of course, familiar with the address of General Douglass MacArthur at Los Angeles January 26th, 1955. General MacArthur is perhaps the outstanding military leader of the world today. When such a personage declares that war today is utterly useless, this is epoch-making.

I write to suggest that this entire speech be translated into all modern languages and distributed over the world. I trust you will give this idea serious attention.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B.Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-80

Mc Arthur

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

February 15, 1955

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

27-10-82

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your letter suggesting that General MacArthur's recent speech be translated into all modern languages and distributed over the world.

We appreciate your interest in making this suggestion to us and will be glad to see that your letter is made available to the Officers in the Foundation.

Sincerely yours,

W. H. Nims
William H. Nims
Assistant Secretary

January 26, 1955

Mr. T. K. Cheng
Foreign Languages Press
26 Kuo Hui Chieh
Peking, China

Dear Mr. Cheng:

I have received your literature, including the "Wall of Bronze", and want to thank you very much for sending it.

I shall be glad to see any other publications that you have to spare.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE
421 SEVENTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 1, N.Y. • OXFORD 5-2863

HARVEY O'CONNOR
Chairman
CORLISS LAMONT
Vice-Chairman
EDGAR STILLMAN, JR.
Secretary-Treasurer
CLARK FOREMAN
Director
LEONARD B. BOUDIN
General Counsel

February 1, 1955

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois
409 Edgecombe Ave.
NYC

Dear Dr. Dubois:

In a moment in which I was more conscious of your contribution to American life than I was of my own limitations, I agreed to write a piece about you for a book on American radicalism. I have done some preliminary reading but I would like very much to have the opportunity of talking to you. A very nice young lady named Miss Joanne Grant is helping me but as she is not free during the day except Saturday, I would like to have an appointment some evening, or Saturday. I would appreciate very much your letting me know a time that would be convenient for you.

27-18-13

I should add that next week I have meetings on Tuesday and Thursday evenings but otherwise my calendar is fairly free. The meeting next Thursday evening, for your information, is to raise defense funds for the seven white people who have been indicted for sedition as the result of their efforts in behalf of a Negro family whose house was bombed.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Clark Foreman
Clark Foreman

cf:sl

7 or 9 evng

264

February 4, 1955

Mr. Clark Foreman
Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
421 Seventh Avenue
New York 1, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Foreman:

Answering your letter of February 1st, may I say that I could see you Monday night, March 7th, or Wednesday night, March 9th, or Saturday morning March 12th or 19th.

I am not in my office evenings or Saturdays, so that you would have to come to my residence in Brooklyn, which is:

31 Grace Court

If you will phone me or my wife there we can give you exact directions as to how to come. The telephone number is:

MAINE 4--2929.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-18-14

[Foreman]

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Andrew Weinberger, N. Y.
Frank Wilkinson, Calif.
Henry Willcox, Conn.
Prof. William A. Williams, Ore.

February 14, 1955

Mr. W.E.B. Dubois
409 Edgecomb Ave.
NYC

Dear Dr. Dubois:

I asked for permission to hear you this afternoon at the Elizabeth Irwin High School but I was told that it was strictly for the school and no outsiders could be permitted. I regret very much not being able to hear you and I would appreciate it if you would let me read your speech . I will take good care of it and return it quickly if you want me to.

It was a pleasure to see you and your wife the other evening and I want to thank you for your hospitality.

Yours sincerely,
Clark Foreman
Clark Foreman

cf:sl

27-11-22

264

[Foreman]

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Henry Willcox, Conn.
Prof. William A. Williams, Ore.

February 18, 1955.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Thank you very much for the copy of the speech. I enjoyed reading it very much and will quote from it in the article, returning it to you later.

There are a couple of points I forgot to ask you about. I hate to trouble you further and if you care to reply it will be perfectly understandable if you just do so on the bottome of this letter.

In connection with the petition the N.A.A.C.P. presented to the U.N. which I want to mention, did you later take any public position on the "We Charge Genocide" petition ?

Did you take any public position with respect to the controversy over the Chinese charge that the United States had used germ warfare in the Korean war ?

With kindest regards,

Clark Foreman

27-11-24

ADVERT BOND
RAG CONTENT

264

[Foreman]

February 21, 1955

Mr. Clark Foreman
Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
421 Seventh Avenue
New York 1, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Foreman:

I publicly endorsed the "We Charge Genocide" petition. I think it was a very excellent effort.

27-11-25

I made no public statement concerning germ warfare, but I haven't the slightest doubt but what it was used by the Americans in the Korean War.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Clark Foreman

38-11-72

March 24, 1955

MEMORANDUM ON THE DU BOIS BIOGRAPHY

Page 2:

He was not the first American Negro to receive a Ph.D. Yale University gave a Negro, Edward A. Bouchet, a Ph.D. in 1876. It is not clear, however, just what the status of this Yale degree was.

Three Negroes are recorded as receiving the Ph.D. degree between 1885 and 1894.

Page 7:

W.E.B. Du Bois was not in Boston at the time that Booker Washington spoke and was heckled by Monroe Trotter. He was still in Atlanta. He expected to spend his vacation in Boston but had not yet started north. He heard of the incident from the newspapers.

Page 17: On the Appeal to the United Nations

Our object in writing the Appeal was to have the matter of the status of the American Negro discussed in the assembly of the United Nations. In order to accomplish this we had first to get the Commission on Human Rights to receive it. Here we had difficulty, but finally the Commission arranged for a committee from the NAACP consisting of Walter White and myself and others to make formal presentation. Then the Appeal was buried in that Commission When the Commission met later in Geneva we tried to get the Commission to ask to have the Appeal placed on the agenda of the next United Nations Assembly. The Soviet Union and other delegates favored this, but the United States delegation through Mrs. Roosevelt and Josephus Daniels, Jr. opposed it and the matter was dropped.

Our only recourse now was to try to get some individual nation which was a member of the Assembly to introduce the Appeal and open debate. It was on the matter of asking the Assembly to debate this Appeal that I had the interview with Mrs. Roosevelt. I was invited to the office of the United States delegation to the United Nations, and expected to meet a committee of some sort or other. Only Mrs. Roosevelt was present. She informed me that the Commission was not willing to put this Appeal on the agenda of the United Nations. And she added that if this Appeal should be debated in the United Nations that she would feel compelled to resign from her position as delegate. These are the facts concerning the matter, and whether Mrs. Roosevelt remembers them or not I do, and they are as stated.

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Fritchman]

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH

Telephone DUnkirk 9-1356 • 2936 West Eighth Street • Los Angeles 5, California

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN
Minister

May 17, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am very happy to have your letter of May 10th suggesting the possibility of my name for the World Peace Council, American Section. After giving it considerable thought I have decided it is probably not a wise thing for me to do much as I am tempted to send you an affirmative reply. The chief reason, and it has been one of principle I have followed for some years, is not to be on any Board or Council where I am unable to function with some degree of direct participation in an effective way. Obviously this is impossible in the World Peace Council since I can not attend their meetings and I realize they cannot go through the laborious business of sending their policy and program out to Council members in advance.

I hope you will appreciate the thinking behind this and the reluctance with which I say no to any request you make of me.

Please give my most sincere and appreciative regards to Mrs. Du Bois.

Ever faithfully,

Stephen Fritchman

Stephen H. Fritchman g

27-14-44

May 24, 1955

Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman
First Unitarian Church
2936 West Eighth St.
Los Angeles 5, California

Dear Mr. Fritchman:

I understand perfectly your reasons for not having your name submitted for membership on the World Peace Council.

We were much disappointed at not having the pleasure of hearing you speak here in the east. I hope you will be able to come soon.

Mrs. Du Bois joins me in best regards to you and Mrs. Fritchman:

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-14-45

January 8, 1955

Meta Warrick Fuller
Middlesex County Sanatorium
775 Trapelo Road
Waltham, Massachusetts

My dear Meta:

I want to thank you so much for the photographs which you sent me, and also Shirley and I join in wishing you a Happy New Year.

I hope you are quite recovered and that you can get at your work again.

Yours with love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

photos of her
work filed
under Photos

27-18-1

[Gabriel, A. B.]

550-J Grand Street
New York 2, N.Y.

May 4, 1955

Dear W.E.B. and Shirley,

I am no longer working at Tass. It dropped four of us, and will drop more of the Americans sooner or later. The office will be closed on Sunday, and before I left, during one hour of the day, no cables were sent to the home bureau. Probably it will become a completely foreign bureau with a small staff. The U.S.A. is no longer the most important country in the world, it seems.

Bernie Koten telephoned me the day before yesterday and told me that the National Council needed someone. I followed his suggestion and saw Mr. Morford yesterday. When he asked for names as references, I gave him W.E.B.'s and George Murphy's. I hope that I Have not unduly presumed in giving him your name, but both names arose immediately in answer to Mr. Morford's request.

I am going to have my former colleagues come to my home for a visit and hope that you and Shirley can come.

27-10-38

Sp 7
8746

Affectionately,

Alison.

May 12, 1955

Mrs. Alison Burroughs Gabriel
550 - J Grand Street
New York 2, N.Y.

Dear Alison:

I should be very glad to furnish testimonials as to your background and ability.

Howard Fast needs a stenographer and I mentioned you to him.

His address is:

c/o Blue Heron Press
47 West 63 St.
New York 23, N.Y.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-31

[Gellert Testimonial]

For forty years the art of Hugo Gellert has been a weapon in the hands of Americans fighting for the freedom and happiness of our people. As friends and admirers of Hugo Gellert we feel it is proper that this anniversary should be celebrated in a manner best expressing our appreciation for Hugo Gellert.

Hugo Gellert Anniversary Committee

THE HUGO GELLERT ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEE

INVITES YOU TO JOIN THEM

on the occasion of a

BANQUET

in honor of

Hugo Gellert

SUNDAY, JANUARY 16th, 1955

3 P.M.

AT HUNGARIAN HOUSE
2141 Southern Boulevard, Bronx, N. Y.
(*Near 181st Street*)

Guest Speaker
MR. PAUL ROBESON

Couvert $3.50

R.S.V.P.

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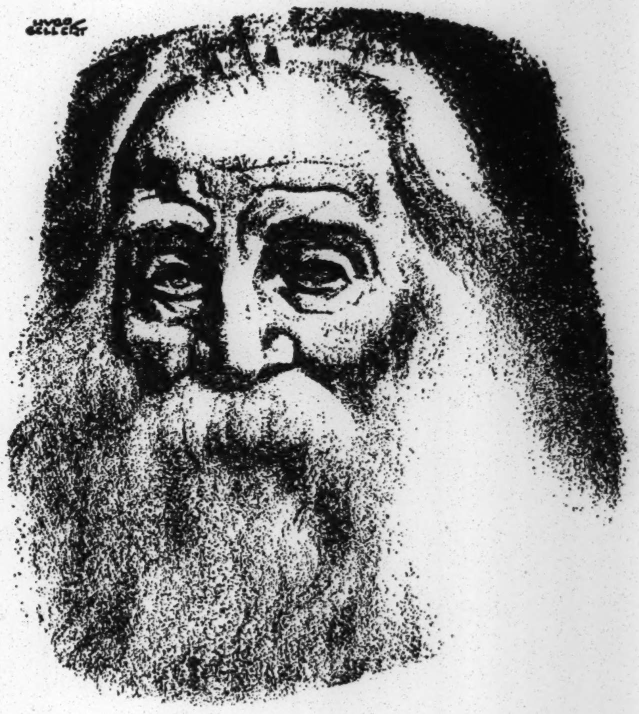


Courage yet, my brother or my sister!
Keep on—Liberty is to be subserv'd whatever occurs;
That is nothing that is quell'd by one or two failures, or any number of failures,
Or by the indifference or ingratitude of the people, or by any unfaithfulness,
Or the show of the tushes of power, soldiers, cannon, penal statutes.

What we believe in waits latent forever through all the continents,
Invites no one, promises nothing, sits in calmness and light, is positive and composed, knows no discouragement,
Waiting patiently, waiting its time.

—WALT WHITMAN

545 West 111th Street
New York, N. Y.
April 11, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am taking the liberty of sending you the enclosed fragment of my M.A. essay. It will be submitted in September, pending completion of the research. My professor had asked me to prepare an outline of what I had done, and, if I wished, to write it up as far as I had gone. Hence, the essay is full of gaps, and is rather disjointed.

I must confess that I was loathe to bother you about such a matter. However, the members of the history department at Columbia are something less than adequate in economics, and the economics department is not at all interested in history, at least of the Old South. While I received flattering comments from my professor, therefore, they were without real criticism of either method or substance. I was sure that, if time allows you, your comments would be invaluable, and I therefore decided to request your assistance.

27-17-6

I should mention that I have been asked to expand the first section on Capitalism and Slavery with a view toward publication as an article. My work on this point so far has been at best spotty. I am of course hampered by having to use the definitions and concepts of Weber, rather than of Marx; more, I think that, discretion being the better part of valor, it would be best to omit direct mention of Marx's work. Your comments on this question would be most warmly appreciated, as would those on the main point of the paper.

I trust that the imposition is not excessive. Many thanks.

Very truly yours,

Eugene D Genovese

Eugene D. Genovese

April 21, 1955

Mr. Eugene D. Genovese
545 West 111 Street
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Genovese:

I have hardly time for searching criticism on your thesis, but two things occur to me. First and foremost is the entire omission, so far as I can see, of all reference to the domestic slave trade in the South. The raising of slaves for sale and their transportation and distribution in the southern South was of tremendous influence in the economics of slavery and influenced secession. Like the African slave trade it was a matter of deep sensitiveness among slave holders, and consequently was seldom discussed scientifically.

The best if not the only work on the subject is: SLAVE TRADING IN THE OLD SOUTH by Frederic Bancroft, published by J.H. Furst Company, Maryland, 1931. It has a number of interesting references but mainly to contemporary newspapers. You ought by all means to consult this book if you have not.

It seems also that your dependence on Weber, while defensible, is too great. I do not see how you can possibly omit at least some reference to Marx.

The pressure for our opening the foreign slave trade either by direct trade to Africa or annexation to the South was of great influence. It would be well to study the proceedings of the commercial conventions at: New Orleans in 1855; Savannah 1856; Knoxville 1857; Montgomery 1858; Vicksburg 1859. They are mentioned in my SUPPRESSION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

I am afraid this criticism is a bit superficial, but perhaps it will be of some use.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-17

[1955?]

CHARLES GEORGES

Photographe

office National
du
TOURISME - P.au-P. - *Haiti*

ROUSSAN CAMILLE
gave the photos

P.O. box 792
Port-au-Prince
41/8E/22 HAÏTI

March 25, 1955

G.A. Georgopulo & Co., Inc.
48 Stone Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed please find my check for $15.50. Please repeat my order of ~~[illegible]~~ J 1954 for 500 Andron gold-tipped cigarettes, with the initials: WEBD.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

4/17/21

27-10-20

G. A. GEORGOPULO & CO.
INCORPORATED
CABLE ADDRESS "GEORGOPO" TELEPHONE WHITEHALL 4-7073
MANUFACTURERS OF THE
"ANDRON"
HIGH GRADE EGYPTIAN CIGARETTES
48 STONE STREET
WAREHOUSE
CAVALLA, GREECE
NEW YORK

March 28th. 1955.

W. E. B. DuBois,
23 West 26th. St.,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir,

We with to thank you for your order, also to advise you that there was no check enclosed in your letter. It will be advisable to cancel same if it has been mislaid.

Sincerely tours,

G.A.Georgopulo & Co.,

B Georgopulo

BPG/a.

Dear Shirley Graham and
Dear Dr. DuBois, —

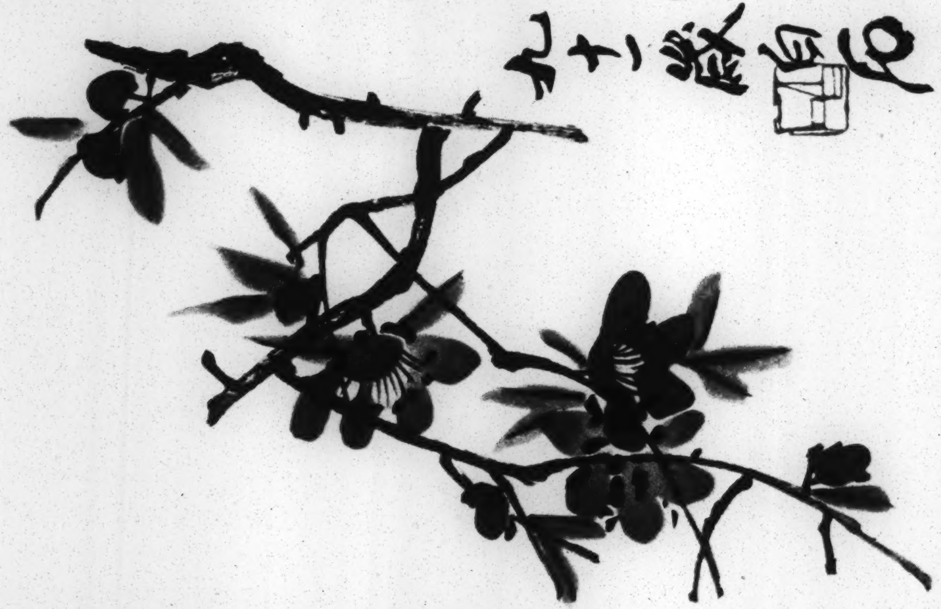
Recently I stopped in at the International Book Shop, first in Shanghai and now in Peking. In both instances I found "In Battle for Peace" still selling in the current book lists. Did any of the Chinese translations reach you?

This brief holiday in Peking gives me the opportunity to wish you both a Happy Christmas Season, knowing you join in the Hope that Peace will prevail in 1956 and for many years to come.

Sincerely,
Talitha Gerlach

November 15, 1955

[Gerlach]



42-19-102

Peach Blossom *by Chi Pai-shih (1861—)*
"CHINA RECONSTRUCTS", an English-language Monthly
157 Changshu Lu, Shanghai, China

Gerlach 11/15/55

Miss Shirley Graham
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N.Y.
U.S.A.

42/1A/34

[German Peace Council]

January 26, 1955

Professor Dr. Walther Friedrich, President
German Peace Council
Taubenstrasse 1-2
Berlin W 8
Germany

Dear Dr. Friedrich:

I thank you for your holiday greetings and hope you can realise your Peace Program during 1955.

We Americans are having difficulty in working for peace, but there are large numbers of us who believe in it as the cure for present difficulties.

27-18-12

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[Gevaert]

COPY. Laethem St. Martin, Belgium, 15th April 1955.

General MacArthur,

I received a letter from an American, an answer to the copy of the letter to Prince Bernard of the Netherlands I sent out in your country. In it was suggested that I should write to you asking to create a party for peace.

I have created in Belgium the flourishing 'party of the Universal People' with a single point on its program : the total struggle against war.

You know certainly better than myself that we will see the destruction of civilized humanity if we don't defeat war. So we cannot work for a secondary good if the fruits of it can no more be effective.

Which way is United States taking under its actual leaders? You are the strongest nation but if you build on military power, your country will be smashed to pieces, and if by military power, without going at war, you want to rule the world, you will not succeed in it because the crushing majority of the people on earth turns away from you.

If the Americans knew the exact actual situation they would not tolerate for a moment their administration.

Adlai Stevenson travelled all over the world after he had been defeated by Eisenhower. He has met "big-ones" everywhere and wrote a book which he thought to be the image of the actual political world. Nowhere he did investigate amongst the people or amongst those who know what are the feelings of the people. I meet regularly the people in Belgium and in France and I know the present views of the German people. Everywhere it is like in Belgium : we are completely fed-up with wars and America who made a formidable impression and was admired at the end of the war is despised now more than Germany in the days of Hitler. I will not describe the people's impression in regard United States. I fear I would hurt your feelings. But I will tell you that the sole allies of your country's politics are amongst the citizens of the Western European countries a few industrialists who have their financial interests linked with the American financial power; the majority of our parliamentarians—when they are in the Chambers and not in the streets—and certainly Churchill, Adenauer, Spaak and in general the heads of the governments. The people are disgusted, feel unhappy and in revolt under the dictatorship of these few. They will all look out, when a war starts, to save their skin, and will collaborate with those who occupy their country from West or East, angel or devil.

27-10-83

By confidence in military power, America, even if it does not make use of it, will stand in a few years quite alone in the world because the group of Eisenhower or that one of Stevenson, which might follow up, do not understand the actual world.

The conference of Bandoeng is now going on, Japan knows her interests are no more to be found at the side of United States. America will lose everything by confidence in power and things will evolve to the benefit of Russia who, led by bad ones or criminals, will, by clever diplomacy, as they did now with Austria and as they will do with Germany, bring United States in a complete ridiculous position.

Do not be cross with me, General MacArthur, this is because of your astounding and admirable speech. Do not waver in your actual stand. God will bless you and you will save your soul and humanity because a big one has turned away from useless manslaughter.

With respectful and most sincere greetings,

Edgar GEVAERT.

April 18, 1955

Mr. Truman K. Gibson
Supreme Liberty Life Ins. Co.
3501 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Gibson:

I wonder if you can give me some help and advice in this case: My wife, Shirley Graham, has come into possession by will of a piece of property in Glencoe, Illinois. It may some time become quite valuable real estate.

The lot is fifty feet wide and it looks to me as though it may be between 100 and 200 feet deep. It is only about a couple of blocks from the lake shore.

At present it has a two-story house, rented but in poor repair. There are one or two other houses here, formerly occupied by servants but eventually they are going to be developed as part of this suburban place.

As it is now the property belonged to Shirley's grandfather and then went out of the family through marriage but finally a widow who came into possession of it wanted to restore it to the original family. We've had a rather hard time getting hold of it on account of the fact that Shirley is not a resident of Illinois, but we have finally got the title [redacted] and we are having the property appraised.

We want it sold as soon as possible and we want to get a good price. I am enclosing a description.

Now if you know anyone who might be interested or would want to look it over and give us some advice, we would be under great obligations.

I trust this will find you and the family in good health. X

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

+ as it leaves me @ 87.

27-10-23

[1955]

MEMORANDUM:

to Truman Gibson

Description of property:

Two lots approximately 100 feet deep with two-family house designated --

412 Madison Street, Glencoe, Illinois

Two short blocks off Lake Shore Drive, house run down but rented.

27-10-24

Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Co.

HOME OFFICE
3501 SOUTH PARKWAY
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 19, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Doctor Du Bois:

It was good to hear from you under date of April 18, in reference to the property in Glenco in which Mrs. Du Bois is interested. It so happens that I have some friends living in that community, and I have already contacted them. I am leaving the city for a few days, but on my return I shall have some kind of preliminary report to send you.

You are but 15 years my senior, and we both seem to be going strong.

Sincerely yours,

T K Gibson

T. K. Gibson
President

TKG:hj

27-10-21

May 31, 1955

Mr. T. K. Gibson, President
Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Co.
3501 South Parkway
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Gibson:

April 19th you wrote me about looking at the property in Glenco. I am reminding you of that.

I think that the lawyer and the agent are trying the old trick of seeing if they cannot get hold of this property cheaply. We have had a letter from the agent saying that the municipality now demands repairs on the house, and we have not yet been able to get an appraisal.

Just look into the matter when you can. We do not propose to give this property away.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-22

GILBERT - 132 W. 97th ST. NEW YORK CITY

41-19E-22

DEAR DR. DUBOIS:— It's our pleasure to wish you a happy birthday. If you'll notice in the background of this; our Chanukah, X mas, New Years, Valentine + now birthday card, you'll see that you're always with us and are a definite part of our education.

SINCERELY

THE GILBERTS

N.Y.
FEB 2
30 AM
55

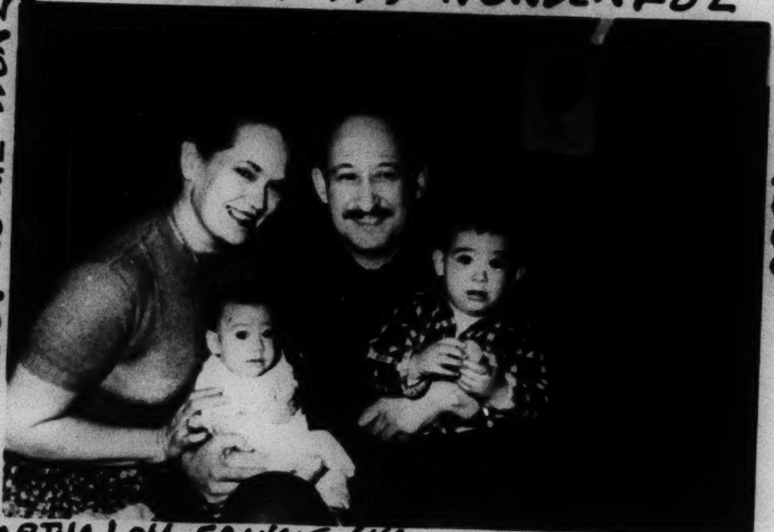
SUPPORT
YOUR CRUS
FOR

2¢
U.S. POSTAGE

Dr. W.E. DuBois
23 W. 26th St.
New York 10,
New York

PEACE! IT'S WONDERFUL

JOY TO THE WORLD



1955

MARTHA LOU FRANCIE GIGI NICKY

May 12, 1955

Dr. Marvin Gillman
54 East 72 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Gillman:

The drops for my eyes have been used up.

If you wish me to continue them, kindly send me another prescription.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-25

[Gloster]

HAMPTON INSTITUTE
HAMPTON, VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

May 21, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

During the forthcoming summer I am planning to begin study toward the Ph. D. degree in sociology at the University of Pennsylvania. Since I have been requested by this institution to ask two professors and the dean of my university to submit recommendation blanks in my behalf, I would be grateful if you would complete the enclosed blank in support of my application for admission and forward it to the Graduate School of Arts and Science of the University of Pennsylvania.

As you no doubt will remember, during the academic year 1933-1934 I was enrolled in two of your courses while working toward the Master's degree at Atlanta University. At present I am an instructor in the Department of Social Sciences at Hampton Institute, and I am interested in further graduate study in order to prepare myself for more effective service in my profession.

I hope that you will find it possible to give me a good recommendation, and I assure you that I shall do my best to prove myself worthy of your endorsement.

You have my kindest regards and best wishes.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Louise Torrence Gloster
(Mrs.) Louise Torrence Gloster

LTG:hs

27-10-26

MEMBER
UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

June 1, 1955

Mrs. Louise Torrence Gloster
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Gloster:

I have your letter concerning the University of Pennsylvania and have filled out the blank and returned it.

I had, of course, to say that I had not had the pleasure of knowing you in the last ten years but that I still regard you as a good candidate.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-27

Mike Gold

January 10, 1955

Mr. M. Granich
1786 Topping Avenue
Bronx, New York

Dear Mike Gold:

Thank you very much for your remarks in the "National Guardian."

Personally I think it's a bit thick, but of course Shirley agrees with every word.

My love to the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-29

December 28, 1935

42-50-14

Mr. Eugene Gordon
c/o The Guardian
17 Murray Street
New York City

Dear Mr. Gordon:

Thank you for your note. I should like very much to receive those notes on Negro wages which you mentioned. I will be careful of them and return them to you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

[Gordon Bookshop]

June 1, 1955

Mrs. Adelaide Young
Hugh Gordon Book Shop
4310 S. Central Avenue
Los Angeles, California

Dear Mrs. Young:

I have on hand copies of my COLOR AND DEMOCRACY published in 1945 which I am selling for 75¢ a copy. Can you handle any?

I hope your store is progressing and that you are well.

Shirley joins me in best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-17-63

C/O Miss Dora Jaufroid, 921 Jahncke Ave., Covington, Louisiana [Groves]
August 1, 1955

My dear friends - Dr. Du Bois and Shirley Graham Du Bois,

42-16-51

Doesn't this address surprise you? My stay in Limoges did not work out very well, though I made some wonderful friends there. My adopted niece and her husband were dear to me; but terribly overworked and I saw really very little of them. They are both doctors of medicine and with four children to take care of and educate and the cost of living being what it is in France today the strain on them was very great. Pierre worked as few doctors I know work, and I know some pretty hard-working ones. He would get up and have his "petit déjeuner" alone, practically while he was shaving I wss told and go to see as many patients as he could before his hour at the School of Medicine where he was professor of the department devoted to the diseases of chi children. Then he went to patients in the clinics, the dispensary and the hospital. At two o'clock his consultations began at his office in the house. He tried to be with us at the noon"dejeuner", but was not always, and even if he did manage to, he would rush away before the end of dejeuner in order to get a visit in before his office hours began; and his consulatations often lasted from two until seven, and almost always he had to rush from them to patients in their homes and and sometimes for consultations with doctors in neighboring "Departments". As I said he tried to be with us at the mid-day meal, but he was almost never with us at dinner and often did not get in until ten thirty at night. Natasha was not nearly so busy. Her consultations were only from 10:A.M. til noon, but still she was over-worked. She visited patients in their homes, in the clinics, the dispensary and the hospital; and she was very, very far from well. She was going through her "change of life"; the children made her very nervous and she could do absolutely nothing with them. I had hoped to make my contribution by giving the children English lessons. But they absolutely refused to take English lessons. They will, I am sure, turn out all right; but they are the most absolutely uncontrolled children I have ever known anywhere Before I came - a year before - they had run out of the house a dear old Russian lady, the widow of an uncle of Natasha's. Natasha wanted to give her a home and hoped the children would take Russian lessons from her; but they refused and made so much noise that "Tante Lise" could not stand it and left. I have almost always been able to get on with children. I think their refusing to take English lessons from me and deciding to "run me out", was partly due to their own nerve-wracked state (the 3 eldest having been born during the war and the guerrilla war of the "Resistance") and partly due to the fact that I was an American. They did not really understand the reasons for the anti-Americanism in the atmosphere; but it was there and without understanding it they felt it. As you know the French resent the U.S.A.'s having bases in France - making a colony out of her, and resent the behaviour of the American soldiers in the towns near the bases. And they resent terribly the U.S.A.'s practically ordering France to

(Excues this paper I am out of the white

---

to agree to the Treaty of Paris - re-arming Germany. As you know twice the Assembly refused to ratify it and when it was finally ratified the majority was not very much greater than the minority still refusing. Frenchmen said that it would have been refused again, but for the U.S.'s having bought members of the Assembly. And another reason for the anti-Americanism is the French dislike of the Americans due to the Americans' insisting that France ought to be grateful to America because of the amount of "help" in money the U.S. has sent to France. But the French say that the amount in funds that the U.S.A. has sent is not as much as the amount the U.S. forced France to spend in continuing the war in Indo-Chine when the French wanted to give up Indo-Chine as the British gave up India. I am sending you this copy of a letter I wrote Stevenson, while I was in Limoges.

I loved France and did not want to leave, but I became very much embarassed at receiving my living expenses and doing nothing to contribute and then the children made it evident that they did not want me, and I was seeing nothing of their mother and father. My own income is only $32. a month (all I have left and that would have gone, too, but it is in a tiny trust estate. But I don't care. I have had much more than my share of the good things of life.) and besides that $32. a cousin gives me $25. a month, so I needn't starve, but $57. a month is not enough to live on if I have not a lodging and cannot get work. I could not get a "work.permit" in either England or France, so when this friend offered me a little cottage rent free (a cottage which had belonged to her sister who died in 1953) I decided to accept the invitation. My friend does not want to rent it for if she received rent for it that would complicate her old age pension; and as it was in pretty bad order and I am trying to do some order-restoring, I do not feel as if I were accepting too much.

But to return to France. Madeleine Rolland (Romain's sister) one of my most intimate friends, gave me introductions to two of her friends in Limoges and they were wonderful to me, and became two of the best friends I ever made. To them I was myself and not "an American" ("a damned Yankee") They were very "Left-wing" - almost Communist though not quite, great friends of Mme Eugénie Cotton, to whom they gave me a letter of introduction and whom I visited for "tea" at her house in Sèvres when I went to Paris. As I said above I really did not want to leave Europe. But it seemed necessary and I was very lucky in having this hospitable friend. However I kept on trying to find work, and just after I had accepted this invitation and had bought my ticket on a cargo boat coming from Antwerp right to New Orleans I heard that that there was a dearth of teachers of English in Finland. It was too late for me to investigate; but oh how I wish I might have been in Helsinki for the Peace Meeting! If I can save up enough for a passage to Finland in the early fall of 1956, and am as well and feeling as youthful as I do now (I shall be 80 in just 8 days - on Aug. 9th) and I find that I really can get work in Helsinki I shall go. I am in correspondence with Mrs. Felix Iversen - an old friend of Emily Balch's.

I am happy with my friend, but it is very hard having to be so very "careful" My friend who is 75, but really older than I at 80, was once reported to the F.B.I. and naturally I do not want to get her into trouble. I am, however, seeing some good signs in the South that I did not expect to see. I looked up the number of those killed listed in "We Charge Genocide" and though there are far too many in Louisiana, it does seem to be rather better than the other states Georgia, Alabama and Missippi and Florida being the worst. I believe there is a slight influence of the Latin attitude since the genocide ~~is~~ is less in the French and Spanish colonies, and my friend and many of her friends are without "race prejudice" She is a Theosophist, and that may have something to do with her unwillingness to wound or hurt the dignity of others.

There are two questions I want to ask you, for I think you may know. What has become of the paintings Diego Ribera made for the Workers' School and which I saw once when they were in the rooms of, I think, the American Opposition Communist Party. We have just been reading the book by Bertram Wolfe which describes the paintings and all the paintings are reproduced: - "Portrait of America by Diego Ribera and Bertram Wolfe" I am sure Bert Wolfe would know, but I hesitate writing to him. He has swung so far to the "Right" and is so vindictive in his feelings against all Communists (which Diego is again now) that he might be outraged at my asking him. I certainly hope that these paintings have not been destroyed.

The other thing I want to ask is the position, fate or whereabouts of Oliver Cromwell Cox. I am just reading for the first time his "Caste, Class and Race". I have finished "Caste", and read "Class" twice to get it clearly in my mind, and am in the midst of "Race". It seems to me that I heard that he was one of those who suffered as so many other university professors suffered in being deprived of his professorship, since he was not one who could whitewash the "System". It seems to me that his book is one of the most remarkably scholarly books I have ever read. I do hope that he is able to keep on with his work.

42-16-53

And now, do tell me about yourselves.

Faithfully your friend

Anna Melissa Graves

[1955]

Aug 8, 195

NIGHT Letter

Miss Anna Graves
c/o Miss Dora Jaufroid
921 Jahncke Ave
Covington, La

Our deep congratulations on 80 useful and devoted years and hope for much happiness & satisfaction still to come

W. E. B. Du Bois
Shirley Graham

42-1G-5D

[Graves]

c/o Miss Dora Janfroid
921 Jahncke Ave. Covington
Louisiana

August 11. 1955

My very dear friends

We have no telephone and so your telegram was telephoned to a neighbor who sent for me to receive it and that was on August 9th it self - and then yesterday the 10th I received the copy by mail from the Western Union. I cannot tell you how touched I was - and am. And I must tell you something else. My friend - Dora Janfroid - takes The National Guardian and though she reads very little - her eyes being none too good - she has read your articles in the N. G. and she asks me to tell

you that she feels honored because her name appeared on the telegram you sent - in the address.

I must confess I am not an optimist about the immediate future anywhere, - in the aggregate; though one does meet individuals everywhere who are marvelously brave - and true. It is the seeming inability for continued and wide spread co-operation which is discouraging. This friend spent a year - twenty five years ago - in a Llano colony in Louisiana (a branch of the one in California) but it collapsed, partly because of the Depression deprived it of markets; but also because there was not the elimination of corruption - which so far only China has been able to achieve on a large scale.

Dora's sister Eveline - a Mrs Miller - died in October 1953. She had adopted a sub-normal child who is a cripple and an epileptic. and Dora has taken

this child - now a woman of forty seven. and is taking care of her. She - "Louise" is not repulsive and is not without a certain amount, indeed at times a rather surprising amount - of intelligence - but though Eveline tried every possible method she could not succeed in teaching Louise to read or write, and unless supported by two people' Louise ~~she~~ can not walk, She crawls like a little child The iron support to her legs were not successful. Though Dora is nearly seventy five and not nearly so strong as I - she will not hear of Louise being sent to a "Home". I can not follow Dora in her Theosophy: "Karma" and Re-incarnation etc. but it is very encouraging to find any one who seems to be able to follow the Golden Rule, as an individual! I have your "Dark Water" and "The Soul of the Black Folk" and when we have finished "War and Peace" (which I am reading aloud when we meet in the evenings) I shall read those aloud to her. Very affectionately your friend

Anna Melissa Graves

21 Jahncke Ave., Covington, Louisiana
September 1955

(Graves

ear, dear Emily,

I read the letter you sent me from Miss Phillips twice, indeed I think three times. I agree with all she says in criticism of the U.N.; but I do not see in it the element of Hope, which she sees, and which I believe even Stalin saw at the beginning. I think from the very beginning there were conditions which destroyed reasons for hope. I do not think the "Authors of the Charter" "envisioned a cooperative One-World spirit" Vincent Sheean says in his "Lead Kindly Light" (his account of his pilgrimage to Gandhi): - published 1949

> "In the relations of war and peace a conclusive failure had been that of the United Nations. I had gone to San Francisco in the spring of 1945, like hundreds of other people, in high hope, and had been almost immediately soaked in the cold shower of disillusionment. The opening days of the Conference which brought the United Nations into being were themselves a key to all that was to follow. Then, as the ensuing two years and a half brought every weakness into the open and emphasized it anew, the fact appeared to be that this attempt to regulate the dangerous interaction of rivalries between nation-states was either insincere (i.e. not intended to succeed) or hopelessly inept, or possibly a combination of both; it was a clamorous reverberant stage for the exaggeration of differences, not for their settlement."

42-16-2

I do not know if I ever told you that that spring a Chilean friend of mine C------- L-------- - went to San Francisco as the correspondent of a Santiago paper. She could not even stay until the Conference opened. She was so horrified at the insincerity and unscrupulousness of those gathering there to guide the Conference that she cabled her paper that she could not stay and take part in anything so unscrupulously false; and she came across the continent to see me in Westminster, Maryland. She is a very excitable person, and perhaps her not being able to stay and see if her suppositions were correct - was a mistake. But she felt as Vincent Sheean felt. They both felt the lack of any "envisioning of a cooperative one-world spirit" in the "Authors of the Charter." I, myself, felt it at once and never had the "high hopes" which Vincent Sheean had. I felt that the mere fact that the Organization Conference (and later felt that International Headquarters) should be in the territory of one of the two great rival powers turned it over to that Power's control (Would the United States have thought Leningrad a good place in which to settle differ-

42-16-3

ences?) It certainly seems to me that there has been no evidence whatsoever of any "envisioning of a cooperative One-World spirit in the U.N.'s functioning or in in its refraining from functioning. (Korea, Indo-China, Guatemala) It did not stop the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty (which Treaty is certainly not the sign of a cooperative One-World spirit, but has been from the beginning definitely, pointedly aimed **against** a part of the world; and today is being used against those in colonial lands trying to liberate themselves from Imperialist tyranny. i.e in North Africa.) The U.N. did not try to stop the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty or the analogous South Pacific Treaty, or even protest against their creation, as far as I know. It had no part in the Conference in Geneva which did stop the war in Indo-China: - a "Cease-Fire" which should have been the U.N.'s task to accomplish; but which it couldn't since it shuts out of itself the most populous nation in the world, and one of the largest - a nation vitally concerned in that "Cease Fire!" The U.N. takes no part in any attempt to stop the bombing of China by American planes from bases in Taiwan, nor does it, as far as I know, do anything to bring about the withdrawal of bases from supposedly free countries, members of the U.N.: - bases occupied by American soldiers in countries whose people do not want their land occupied by foreign soldiers as if it were conquered territory or a colony, who do not want, in their own lands, bases occupied by soldiers of a nation so powerful that the people of the country do not dare to say they absolutely refuse to support this occupancy

And the U.N. cannot even preserve parliamentary courtesy in its meetings and allows Lodge to be as insulting as he wishes to be, as it allowed Austen.

I know you feel that the "League of Nations" was a step towards World Unit Unity. I think it was an obstacle in the way. Certainly there was more un-interfered-with communication between the people of different countries, freer passing to and fro, during the twenty years before the first World War:- 1894-1914 than there was during the twenty years of the League: 1919-1939. Remember visas were not necessary before 1914 and passports rarely. (I was four times in Europe before the first World War. I visited eight different countries, and the word "visa" was not in my vocabulary. Only twice did I carry a passport, and those two times it was at the bottom of my luggage and never had to be shown.) Tariff walls were not nearly so high and immigration was not nearly so restricted. I know that between 1894 and 1914 there was the Spanish-American War, the Boer War, and the Russian-Japanese War and the Balkan War; but I think there were more wars between 1919 and 1939: - the Polish-Lithuanian War, the Turkish-Greek War, the continual war of the West against the Soviet Union, the Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay, the Chinese-Japanese War, the Italian-Ethiopian War, the never ending wars of Colonial oppression, the wars caused by the oppression of the League of Nations Mandatory Powers: - the French against the Syrians - wars between the peoples of arbitrarily established mandated areas (Arabians against Jews (There had been peace in both Syria and Palestine before 1914) and last the "Rehearsal for World War II in Spain: - the Nazi Fascist War against the legitimate government in Spain. The League of Nations was either unable to do anything to make the"Non Intervention Committee work fairly, or winked at its unfairness: - doing nothing to prevent Mussolini's and Hitler(s defiance of "Non-Intervention" - their active aggression in sending troops into Spain to help rebels - to help reactionaries rebelling against their legal and popularly elected government. And while doing nothing to prevent this aggression, the "Non-Intervention Committee" was at the same time preventing the legitimate government's purchase of the means of protecting the country from rebels and aggressors. Have you read Claude Bowers' "My Mission to Spain"? He tells of this failure on the part of the League to make any attempt to prevent Hitler's and Mussolini's defiance of the"Non-Intervention Committee" while the Committee's decisions were being forced on the legal Government of Spain, so that it could not receive from outside (even though it wanted to meet the expense itself) any of the arms necessary for its defense. On page 330-331 Bowers says

> "Elated by their success at Malaga, the rebels pushed their preparations for an offensive against Madrid. A great army with the most modern equipment from the Axis powers, with three divisions of Italian troops, was assembled for a march on Guadalajara. Italian generals were in command. Italian troops were given precedence, on the insist-

> ence of Mussolini, who sent a flamboyant message, expressing extreme confidence in their triumph."
>
> -
>
> "The telegraph of Mussolini to his army in Spain was embarassing to the 'Non Intervention Committee', and del Vayo made it the subject of a vigorous protest to the League of Nations; but this meant less than nothing, and was actually resented. One of my colleagues assured me it was'in bad taste'. The League had ceased to command respect , or to deserve it. When I asked Herbette, the French ambassador, what he thought the League would do, he laughed heartily.
>
> 'Is this a serious conversation?' he asked.
>
> So low had been reduced the prestige of the League."

42-16-5

Remember the hypocricy of the League in relation to Liberia. Remember what the League allowed the mandatory powers to do in the mandated territories - supposed to be under the protection of the League as trusts: - for instance France in Syria - one third of Damascus destroyed by the French. And the Syrians could not appeal to the League except through France. Remember what South Africa as a mandatory power, did in South West Africa: - the extermination of, and the cruelty to the Africans; and the League did Nothing. And the farce of the Minorities Commission of the League. The Sudeten Germans sent twenty-one petitions to the League, and not even the receipt of one single petition was ever acknowledged.

Before the First World War - i.e. before the birth of the League of Nations - New Zealand was supposed to be the country where, in all the world there was there was more real Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. She had not followed the example of Tasmania and Australia. Her natives were not exterminated or driven into waste places where they could not make their own living and so died. The Government of New Zealand treated the Maori natives exactly as the Anglo-Saxon white settlers were treated . There was no "Native Problem". In the Health Program New Zealand was ahead of even Scandinavia. The percent of deaths during the first year of life was lower than that in any other country in the world. When her record was the best, and there was no real competitor she started to make her own record still better, competing with her own last record, and passing it. It would seem that New Zealand, so careful of the lives of her own children, treating the Maori children exactly as she treated the the Anglo-Saxon, so just in every way to "Natives", could be trusted as a mandatory power. She was given as mandated territory which she was to govern as a mandatory power a group of islands in the Pacific, formerly a German colony But governing under the League did something to her standard of ethics. She was just as bad as the other mandatory powers; and the natives suffered greatly.

Then there was the actual domination of the League by England. England's domination of the League was, of course, not anywhere nearly so complete as the U.S.A.'s domination of the U.N.; but it was, just the same, fairly complete.

as is shown, for instance, by the League's compliance with England's wishes in regard to Japan's seizure of Manchuria.

But the U.S.A. (even though not a member of the League) shared in England's domination, though the U.S.A.'s domination was camouflaged. Is not the power to decide whether or no the reports of the proceedings of the meetings of any assembly, or council or committee meeting should be full verbatim, textually word for report word, or should be only a summary, a compte rendu, the power to decide whether they should be mimeographed and hence only a comparatively few copies available for the people and those hard to get, or should be printed and widely distributed? Is not this power a formidable power? An American - Sweetser, and his committee, chiefly Americans, had that power in the League. He and they decided whether the reports were to be verbatim or only summaries, whether they should be printed and available to large numbers, or mimeographed and hard to procure. The reports of the meetings on Liberia were only mimeographed and very hard to get. And these meetings, as you know, were not very savoury. Remember not only was there present the Briton - Lord Cecil (Chairman) but there were also the Americans - General Winship and Mr. Reber who were appointees of the American Government and took active part in a meeting of a committee of the Council of the League, the object of which was the forming a plan for the domination of Liberia. (You may remember also General Winship a few years later in Puerto Rico. No one could have been more of a dictator, or more unscrupulous. See Arthur Garfield Hayes's report on the "Massacre at Ponce"

You sent me some time ago your ideas about the "bases" (which are almost all, indeed I believe quite all, U.S.A. Bases) in the different so-called "free countries " of the world (and in their colonies: e.g. in Greenland - a colony of Denmark, in Morocco, a colony of France) You thought, I gathered that it would be well to have these bases in the hands of the U.N., as little nuclei of a "One World". But their being in the hands of the U.N. would not change the situation, for bases in the hands of the U.N. would mean that the bases were still in the hands of the U.S.A. Until we have a Representative Body of World conscious units - a One world, (as France is a One country) a One world where no one thinks of himself first as a citizen of the U.S.A. or Japan or South Africa, but as a citizen of the World, (any more than any Frenchman thinks of himself first as a Norman, or a Gascon, as a citizen of Seine-et-Oise or a citizen of Haute Vienne, for on the contrary each Frenchman thinks of himself first as a citizen of France.) But we cannot build up such a Representative Body made up of world conscious units by the sending out of soldiers to bases on land seized from people who do not want their lands so misused. And such bases filled with occupying soldiers - (whether called U.N. or U.S.A. - since the name makes no difference - ask Korea -) such bases cannot be be nuclei cannot be little embryos of a One World spirit, since neither the U.N

Nor

~~Nor~~ the U.S.A. is imbued with a One-World spirit, neither is a cooperative of world-conscious units. The U.S.A. has not lost any of its nationalist imperialism. On the contrary ~~iat~~ it is more than ever determined to preserve and augment its power; and the U.N. as Vincent Sheean said, has been a clamorous reverberant stage for the exaggeration of differences between rival nation-states" , not a stage for their settlement. So I do not want the U.S. bases scattered over the Free (!!!!) world to be turned into U.N. bases. I want all armament in them to be destroyed, everything in the nature of a fortification also; and the land on which they were built to be returned to the people of the country whose territory is being so shamefully used. (Even the slopes of Fujiyama are violated!) I want every American soldier and every American in any way connected with this usurpation to be brought home and given a job on ~~mmmm~~ some constructive work for the People~~s~~. Can you believe that the Japanese will ever be happy or feel safe (if there is any vestige whatsoever of those bases? Read in the February 1954 issue of "The New Outlook " (1632 - 34 Pico Boulevard , Santa Monica, California) what an American Lutheran minister has to say about the behaviour of the American soldiers in Japan and South Korea. (It was better for North Korea to be ruined and left, than to be occupied And not only Japan and Korea, but Europe suffers from the "single"(!? - not always) "single" men in barracks "who are anything but "painted saints"~~.~~ and almost all of the barracks are American. Fuerth and Kaiserslautern and even Munich are suffering almost as much as Tokyo. Before the First World War no one in Iceland who had not traveled abroad had ever seen a man in uniform. There was no army. When the war started, first Germany siezed land for a post. Then Britain took Germany's base, and when the U.S. came in Britain transferred the base to the Americans. After the war was over a friend of mine met an Icelandic woman who had just come to New York. My friend asked: "Which of the three peoples successively occupying Iceland were most commendable, which of the three did you find least worthy of reproach? (expecting or hoping that the answer would be: "The Americans".) The Icelander said nothing for a second, then looking straight at my friend she said: "The Germans were, at any rate, controlled." I found the same opinion in France. The Germans were terrible when it was a question of reprisals - when Germans had been shot in the back by French guerrilla fighters, then they would burn a church down - a ~~chur~~ church filled with people - as reprisals and a warning; but in ordinary contact with the French people the Germans were "correct". Camille Drevet told me that of those in Paris, Pierre Martrou of those in Limoges, and Mme. Boutaud Lacombe of those in Angoulême. The French thought of the Germans as being their enemies and they heard of frightful cruelties to the Jews, but they thought of them as people of culture who appreciate French culture. They thought of them as "correct", as "well-bred." On the contrary ~~But~~ they think of American soldiers in the bases

42-16-7

ost being without breeding or culture - and quite uncontrolled by any ethical or moral standards of their own, or by their officers, often as uncontrolled and boorish as the men in the ranks; and almost always whatever their standard of "morals in regard to exploiting women, over-bearing as if they were owners of the country. Ask the people of Chateauroux, of Angoulême or the people of any city i or near which there is an American base. Of course among the individual American soldiers there are exceptions, but the above is the rule.

The following are the statements of Articles II and III of the Conventio on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, adopted December 9, 1948: -

> "Article II
>
> In the present Convention Genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole, or in part a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such
>
> (a) Killing members of the group
> (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group
> (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole of in part
> (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group
> (e) Forcible transferring children of the group to another group.
>
> Article III
>
> The following acts shall be punishable
>
> (a) Genocide
> (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide
> (c) Attempt to commit genocide
> (d) Complicity in genocide

In 1951 the Civil Rights Congress, the majority of whose memebrs are Negro but many of whose members are White, drew up a petition called "We Charge Genocid It is a document of 237 pages: - documentary proofs of flagrant cases of genocide, hundreds of cases occurring after 1948. The "Human Rights" section of the U.N. happened to be meeting in Paris. The petition eas taken to the meeting and the Convention refused to receive it, (It was Mrs Roosevelt who insisted on the ewfysak)

The "Human Rights Section of the U.N. cannot but know of the denial of Human Rights to the Negroes in both the U.S.A. and Africa (Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia etc., in Kenya and in the environs of Johannesberg. Wh is the Human Rights Section of the U.N. doing ti prevent this genocide or doing to punish it when it occurs? Nothing. For in 1955 it had become much worse than it was in 1948.

- -

But it is not chiefly because of the above reasons (though God knows they are reasons weighty enough that I see no hope in the U.N. Even th though I do feel that most of the members of the Assemblies, Councils, Conventtions, and also the secretaries of the various secretariats have given abundant

42-16-9

proofs of their insincerity, or of their corruptibility, or of their being so cowed that they dare not base their decisions on any unbiased code of Justice or of their lacking acumen and maturity of mind ~~so~~ to such a degree that they "know not what they are doing", and even though I do feel with Vincent Sheean that the UN is a clamorous reverberant stage for the exaggeration of differences between rival nation-states" - yet it is not chiefly because of all the above that I see no reason for placing any hope in the U.N. It is chiefly because I know of no case in history in which one system ended because it, itself, consciously, voluntarily built up the system which was to replace it. I know of no case in which any system voluntarily committed suicide. What happens is quite the reverse. When one system is to be replaced by another system the system to be replaced stops at nothing in order to hold on to its power. Feudalism was not replaced by Nationalism through a U.F.L. (Union of Feudal Lords) by, for instance the feudal lords in a certain section of Europe - say, France, gathering together and forming a UFL. On the contrary each feudal lord did his best to retain his independence of any central power's control. * One feudal lord sometimes became more powerful than others by seizing the lands of others who were less strong than he, and forced the vassals of the defeated feudal lord to become his vassals; and sometimes a feudal lord would add to his domain by marrying the heiress of another; but this was not building Nationalism. Those who were emotional in their idea of Nationalism, and felt that it was symbolized by a King and hence must be monarchical felt it was necessary to defy feudalism, as Joan of Arc did, those monarchs who, like Louis the Eleventh, were clever enough to out-manoeuvre the feudal lords, as did also some ministers of some of the kings (Richelieu, for instance), and the city burghers, who united with the royal power in the struggle to end the power of the feudal lords, for feudalism made trade unsafe: those were the forces which displaced feudalism and replaced it with Nationalism. But the feudal lords did not give up their power without struggling. Even during the early reign of Louis XIV (during his minority) there was "The Fronde" . No U.F.L built Nationalism .

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* It may be argued that during Feudal times the King of a country was the overlord of all the feudal lords within his realm, that the dukes, counts, barons etc. were his vassals, and that their vassals owed him - the King - fealty before they owed it to their immediate overlord, and that hence each section of Europe which had a feudal overlord whom they called "King" (as for instance the dukes barons etc. in what is today called France dubbed Hugh Capet and his successors) that each such section with a King was a Nation. But this argument is easy to refute. The sub-vassals did not give fealty to the King before giving it to their immediate overlord; and the great vassals of whom the King was the immediate overlord paid no attention to the idea that they owed fealty to the King either defying or ignoring any such obligation. William of Normandy conquered England as an in-

C/O Miss Dora Jaufroid 921 Jahncke Ave., Covington, Louisiana [Graves]

December 15, 1955

4176-82

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My dear friends: - Dr. Du Bois and Mrs. Du Bois (Shirley)

There is so much to write you about, that I hardly know where to begin. First I want to tell you that I am going to send you something, which yo you may place where you think it will mean most or keep it as long as you live. Do you remember the illustration in my book "Benvenuto Cellini had No Prejudice against Bronze" of two African stools. One was a modern copy replica of the "Golden Stool" of Ashanti and the other was a modern stool conceived and executed by someone a sculptor in the Gold Coast. I got it in Accra; but it may have come from Ashanti. It is, however, quite original; and I think in some ways more interesting than the work which copies the traditional Art. I think the sculptor felt the tragedy of those who were the victims of imperialism; but he was not downed by it and he saw the far greater ignominy of the oppressors and felt that any ignominy of the oppressed was as nothing in comparison. It seems to me that the expression in the face of the holder-up of the seat of the stool says: "Scorned to be scorned by one that I scorn" You do not see that in the poor photograph in my book, but I am sure that it is there. The traditional art of Africa is of course marvelous as Art, but it has not the Diego Rivera like Protest in it, and I think this has, and having the scorn of those who are responsible for the acts against which Diego Ribera is protesting it goes a step beyond Diego, for this sculptor at the same time that he is showing by the arms necessarily over-developed (in order that they may bear such a burden as the seat and whoever sits on it) ~~that~~ also shows that the bearer of ~~the~~ ~~such a~~ [illegible] burden is not worthy of scorn, but that the one who has inflicted such a burden on another human being is. I hope you will see that I am not imagining what I think the sculptor wanted to show, but that this right to feel scorn, and this (subtle yet, to me, evident feeling) of scorn is what the sculptor wanted to show that

I had it always on a support about a foot high, a box made of pine wood stained to look like walnut, the box support being about two inches longer and two inches wider than the base of the stool. I did that because I found that those who looked at the face would have to squat to see it. Perhaps, although many of those who saw it in the African homes saw it from seats on other stools some certainly saw it from seats low down on the ground floor or when squatting. Perhaps the sculptor deliberately hid his expression of scorn except from those who did not just happen in to his work-shop.

A cousin-in-law has been keeping it for me. He lives in Ruxton Maryland but he is from Texas. Although not very bigoted, he is not interested in either politics or social conditions. He is a chemist with a laboratory supplied him by the Government; and I am afraid he doesn't question the use the Government makes of his researches and discoveries in chemistry. Besides chemistry and physics he is so interested in the art of the sculptor, ~~and~~ that he took some lessons I don't think he saw what I saw in the expression of the bearer of the seat of the stool; but he was so fascinated with the stool as art that whenever he came to my apartment he would take a seat right in front of it so that he could look at it while visiting. His wife is my cousin. They named one of their children for me. I was devoted to her mother and especially to her grandfather, (and they to me) Both of whom are dead.

But it is you and not these cousins I want to have the stool and it is you who will know better where to put it finally. I gave the replica of the "Golden Stool" of Ashanti to Morgan College ; but I had rather have this where people who ought to know what scorn the African has the right to have of those who can bind burdens on him (as Zeus bound burdens on Prometheus' and earned Prometheus' scorn.) May I have it sent to you?

I said there were so many things to say. As you can well imagine I am overwhelmed with agony and horror over Mississippi, but if possible more horrified by the general ~~prevalent~~ of the fear or fear of doing anything (and the lack of courage to do anything) to prevent the continuing of such barbarism, such sadism. Of course there are exceptions to ~~the~~ those who excuse or are afraid to condemn. The white man who reads my gas meter, said he was born in Louisiana, but after his marriage went to work in Mississippi; but when he had children he decided that he could not bring them up in such an atmosphere and moved back to Louisiana. I said "Is Louisiana decidedly better than Mississippi? " He said: "Around here - yes; but in northern Louisiana they are just as bad. (This is a section where the French tradition is strong) I got three signatures to the petition which the "Southern Conference Educational Fund Inc." of 822 Perdido St. New Orleans is sending to Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr. Chairman of the Senate Sub-Committee on Constitutional Rights, asking that the Committee have a hearing in Mississippi so that the rights of citizens may be protected and that those who do violence to those who wish to exercize their rights - be punished. But one of the signers is a little frightened at having signed, for it seems that she heard over the radio that the F.B.I. had been asked to investigate this "Southern Conference Educational Fund Inc." and the speaker over the radio said that the organizer had been proved a "subversive" (Would it be possible to get Senator Hennings to prove that the whole state of Mississippi is "subversive" since it is overthrowing the constitutional government of the U.S. by violence.)

A little about myself. I am not able to do all I want to do and hoped to do because I am having very serious trouble with my eyes. About six weeks or two months ago my vision became very blurred. I hoped it was cold or pink eye (my eyes were red), but it did not get less blurred and finally I had to go to New Orleans to an occulist. (There is none here) It costs three dollars to go to New Orleans and return! and that also made me put off the trip. I went day before yesterday. The occulist says that my trouble is partly due to age and my blood condition is such that the blood coming to the retina is not doing its work. He gave me pills which he says that I shall probably have to take the rest of my life; but I am to go to a physician for a general check-up and especially a blood test. and of course have new expensive spectacles I feel very very well, rarely get tired from physical exercise. (I can work in what I hope to make a garden with great zest and really do not get tired and don't mind at all the walk to the shopping centre of Covington, a mile away ~~fro~~ from my house, ~~without minding it at al~~l. But suddenly sometimes I feel weak not tired, weak as if my blood pressure was very low, or as if I had some aenemia. Well I suppose this check up will tell me what I must do and must not do and I hate the prospect of that. However it is not really very serious I am sure. I am blessed with a wonderful friend in Dora Jaufroid. We think alike in most things, though she is a Theosophist and I an atheist; but we are indignant about the same things and working for the same ~~things~~ ends in the world, though I do not fol

41-16-85

low her in her mysticism. She is splendid and daring. But she is less well than I, though only seventy five, and is on old age relief and is taking care of an afflicted adopted daughter of her dead sister's. ~~But~~ However we have beautiful evenings together and read aloud a great deal. We were just beginning your "Souls of the Black Folk" when mye eyes went bad. But the occulist says that with my new glasses and the pills that I ought to no longer have the blurred vision.

Your articles in the "National Guardian" always say what I should like to say. It is tragic that most parents with marvelous power of self-sacrifice wish to pull up, or rather push up, lift up their sons out of the life of burdens and ignorance and narrowness of vision which has been of necessity their own, and do not think of the greater task: - the making of the life for all a life without ignorance and narrowness of vision; and so their sons so soon forget those from whom they came, and wish to forget. Don't they wish to get into the House of Lords and forget even that they were in the Commons and forget even more completely that they were in the mines or factories.' How could we have expected anything of Atlee with his heart set on a title?

Affectionately to you both

Anna Melissa

[Greater N.Y. Negro L.C.]

President
Roy Best

Executive Secretary
Vicki Garvin

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL
NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
NLC

Greater New York Negro Labor Council

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Director of Organization
James Malloy

Treasurer
Walter Garcia

Vice-President
John Elmore

Financial Secretary
Arnold Kolodny

Recording Secretary
Tom Sullivan

January 7, 1955

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Your package arrived with THE cigarettes. We do so much appreciate your cooperation and generosity. I only regret that I cannot be the recipient of this special "collector's item." Thank you again - and for your personal note.

Very sincerely,

Vicki Garvin

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

27-10-19

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[Great Soviet Encyclopedia]

Chief Editorial Office

Bolshoy Sovietskoy Encylopedii
(Great Soviet Encyclopedia)

Pokrovsky Boulevard 8
Moscow 28

January 7,1955

Deeply respected Mr. Du Bois:

Your letter of December 2, 1954, addressed to the Bolshoy Sovietsoy Encylopedii contains exhaustive material on your scientific writings and artistic works, and also of your public activities. Unfortunately, we did not have this material in time, and consequently distressing inaccuracies occurred in the article devoted to you. Thus, the historical drama "Haiti", actually written by an author of the same name, was attributed to you. Some justification for this error might be found in the circumstance that in the American theater reference book by George Ottemiller (that is the way the name is spelled in Russian - I don't know whether it's correct.J.S.), "Index to Plays and Collections, N.Y. ", No. 9, 1943, p. 71, the author of the play "Haiti " is given as W.E.B. Du Bois. Here is the exact reference: " Du Bois, William Edward Burghardt m 1868, Haiti, 1938 ". It should also be mentioned that this same mistake was repeated in the Western progressive press, in particular, the British. This was reflected in an article by the director of the London theater " Unity", David Tree, published in the newspaper "Soviet Art ", October 10, 1951. ("Letter from London ").

It goes without saying that in future editions of the Soviet Encyclopedia the necessary corrections will be made in the article devoted to your literary and scientific works.

We are sincerely grateful for your kind letter, and we beg you to accept our apologies for the mistake that has occurred.

Assistant Chief Editor
Bolshoy Sovietskoy Encyclopedii

A. Zvorykin

[Great Soviet Encyclopedia]

ГЛАВНАЯ РЕДАКЦИЯ
БОЛЬШОЙ СОВЕТСКОЙ ЭНЦИКЛОПЕДИИ

Москва, 28, Покровский бульвар, 8 *Телефон К 7-90-24*

№ 27 „7“ января 1955 г.

Господину ДЮБУА.

Глубокоуважаемый господин Дюбуа!

42-19-111

Ваше письмо от 2-го декабря 1954 г., адресованное Большой Советской Энциклопедии, содержит исчерпывающие сведения о Ваших научных трудах и художественных произведениях, а также о Вашей общественной деятельности. К сожалению, в свое время мы не имели этих данных и потому в статью, посвященную Вам, вкрались досадные неточности. Так, Вам приписана историческая драма "Гаити" (1938), в действительности принадлежавшая перу Вашего однофамильца. Некоторым оправданием этой ошибки может служить то обстоятельство, что в американском театральном справочнике Дж.Оттемиллера "Index to Plays in Collections, N.Y. ", № 9, 1943, ст.71, автором пьесы "Гаити" назван именно У.Э.Б.Дюбуа. Вот точная ссылка: "Du Bois, William Edward Burghardt , 1868, Haiti ,1938". Следует также отметить, что отмеченную ошибку повторила западная прогрессивная печать, в частности - английская. Это нашло свое отражение в статье режиссера лондонского театра "Юнити" Дэвида Три, опубликованной в газете "Советское искусство" 10 октября 1951 г. ("Письмо из Лондона").

Само собой разумеется, что в будущем издании Советской Энциклопедии будут внесены соответствующие исправления в статью, посвященную Вашей, господин Дюбуа, литературно-научной деятельности. Искренне благодарны за Ваше любезное письмо и просим принять извинения за допущенную ошибку.

Заместитель Главного редактора
Большой Советской Энциклопедии

А.Зворыкин

А.Зворыкин

January 10, 1955

Mr. Dean Mason Groves
24 Peacevale Road
Dorchester 24, Mass.

My dear Dean:

I am not too surprised at learning that you are here, and I hope that more than most young men of your size you have brought us some real information from beyond, but I suppose not.

27-17-55

At any rate you are greatly needed, as I am sure your parents have told you, and I hope you will get to work as soon as possible.

My best love to you and family,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

January 10, 1955

Mrs. Emma Groves
30 Peacevale Road
Dorchester, Mass.

My dear Emma:

I have not heard from you in a long time, but received during the holiday that lovely picture of the new grandson.

I also note a new address: 24 Peacevale Road.

I wish you would drop me a line and tell me just how you are getting on and if most of the various elements, physical and mental, have been softened a bit.

I have been in much better health than I have the right to expect, and have been working hard on that novel which I think I mentioned to you. It will run to 1200 typewritten pages and of course will scarcely get publication in the United States, yet I hope sometime it will be published somewhere. At any rate I have received full compensation in the joy of writing it.

Outside of that I have lectured a little, but not much. I refused a Boston lecture unless it could be postponed until Spring. I do not feel that I could face Boston winter weather.

The Community Church did not invite me. I know that they are having a great deal of trouble.

We have had some pleasant meetings with friends and really have very little to complain of.

My love to the family with the larger part to you.

Shirley joins me in greetings.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

February 23, 1955

Mrs. Emma Groves
30 Peacevale Road
Dorchester, Massachusetts

My dear Emma:

I was so glad to hear from you on my birthday morning. I was afraid you might be ill. I do wish you could cut down a little on that job which you have at home, but I suppose it is impossible.

I received the photograph of the grandchild and wrote him a letter. It is pleasant to hear that Margy is getting on well.

27-17-3

I am in pretty good health. I have not had a cold this winter and have been going to the office nearly every day.

God and the Government willing, Shirley and I leave for Haiti Saturday and will spend three weeks in the sunshine.

I have just finished my novel, "Black Flame," which is 1300 typewritten pages and will make publishers thoughtful before they undertake to print it. Also I have, I think, a contract for another book on "The Cotton Slave."

I have not been to Boston this year but I rather think I shall go in June to the 65th anniversary of my class graduation. If I do I shall certainly look you up.

Shirley and I join in best love.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

735

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

by WESTERN UNION

41-19E-18

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SAN FRANCISCO CALIF FEB 23 1955

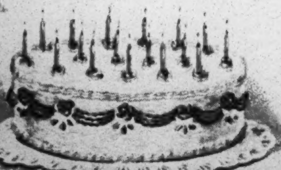
DR W E B DUBOIS B

31 GRACE COURT BKLYN

BUTCH KAYO TUFFY DYNAMITE FLASH DANNY AND VINCENT JOIN ME IN SENDING A BIRTHDAY HUG TO ONE WE DEARLY LOVE.

VIVIAN HALLINAN

330A FEB 24



Happy Birthday

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VINCENT HALLINAN

November 28, 1955
San Francisco, Calif.

42/1A/17

Dear Friend:

The two worst things a prisoner endures are concern for his family and a fear of abandonment.

Remove these apprehensions, and anyone with fortitude enough to become a political prisoner will endure calmly all the other hardships of imprisonment. The dignity of his position lifts him above them. If he believes that those whom he most trusts and respects consider him still part of their struggle, that they are concerned with his comfort and welfare and that they are standing by his family, all the malice of those who persecuted him is undone.

It is necessary to develop a program which will effect these results, not only as an expression of loyalty and friendship, but to preserve the morale of the prisoner, so that he may return to the field, not only unbroken, but strengthened and reassured by the devotion of those who remained outside.

We are sure you will respond readily to the appeal being made to you. As in other years, the cooperation of the National Guardian has enabled the Families Committee to reach you with this message at the holiday time. Those for whom these families speak are casualties in a struggle in which any true American might suffer the same fate.

We, of course, speak to you of this from our personal experience.

Very sincerely yours,

Vivian Hallinan
Vivian Hallinan

Vincent Hallinan
Vincent Hallinan

702 (54)

Holiday Greetings

by WESTERN UNION

OB458

[illegible] DEC 25 AM 12 04

0 SRA370 GTG NL PD=TDSR ROSS CALIF 24=

:DR AND MRS WILLIAM E DUBOIS=

B 31 GRACE COURT BROOKLYN NY=

=HAPPY HOLIDAY A NEW DAWN BREAKS WE LOVE YOU=

:THE HALLINANS=.

42-2A-15

March 23, 1955

Dean Gordon Hancock
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Va.

My dear Mr. Hancock:

Someone has sent me a clipping of your article appearing in the INDIANAPOLIS RECORDER March 12, 1955.

I appreciate your kindness and courage.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

February 13, 1955

Hastings House Publishing Company
41 East 50 Street
New York, N.Y.

ATTENTION: Mr. Alsberg

My dear Mr. Alsberg:

Shirley and I have been discussing your proposal that we should write one of the volumes in the "American Procession" series. This is to be the story of the Negro slaves from the invention of the cotton gin up to the Civil War.

27-177A-47

We would be glad to undertake this on the following conditions: Dramatically the story could not stop with the Civil War. It would have to stop with Emancipation at 1863 at the earliest. In addition, Shirley and I both have our individual styles of writing, and I think that she should write this book.

On the other hand, I should be glad to do the research which would give her the background of fact. I should think, therefore, that the book could be advertised as "by Shirley Graham" and then in the Preface she could tell of my collaboration; or if you so desire, it could be "by Shirley Graham in collaboration with W.E.B.D."

Of course I am sure that you understand that a book about American slavery could not be altogether pleasant reading. Some unfortunate facts must be brought out and emphasized, and neither of us would want to be party to a book that simply glossed over slavery and dealt exclusively in magnolias and white-pillared mansions and good old masters.

On the other hand it would not be good publishing or good writing at this time to make this volume a matter of propaganda or bitterness. I am sure that Shirley could steer between these two extremes, and I could give her ample facts to work on.

I should be glad to have your reaction to this.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Salisbury,
March 1, '55

Ever dearest Friends:-

Belatedly every good wish for your and W.E.B's Birthday. God's Blessings on you both!

Nov. 11th we were in Johannesburg where I found a lovely Birthday card for people having mutual Birthdays, for on that day I always think of you Shirley, as my Birthday sister. In the hectic moving about it got lost or stolen anyway I couldnt find it to post it. But my spirit said hello and "I love you" on that day, as it always shall, across the many miles that now separate us. God willing we will meet again one day when the peoples of the world will have become tranquilized and the banner of universal peace will have been unfurled. Before that there will be many upheavals here, as well as everywhere, for in the world today the whole of life is plunged into this great conflict of social good and private evil on the one hand, and private good and public evil on the other. You know what we

27-17-56

believe to be the solution of this conflict, and so the design of our outward life must reflect our innermost purpose.

Materially we are trying to render a service we feel most needed. Lodging for travellers so we are building a motel. The magnitudinous difficulties of getting materials is indescribable. No wonder there are few accomodations as yet. Daily, hourly I marvel at the patience and perseverance of Larry in the face of all the many aggravating obstacles. The spirit of his faith keeps me hopeful. Many times I feel utterly defeated with the constant precautions necessary to prevent, malaria, hookworm, sleeping sickness, bilharzia and blue-bottle fly infection, the latter means clothes cannot be hung out in the sun because these flies lay eggs that cause terrible boils of weeks duration. everything must be ironed with a hot iron that has hung out. Once settled with some of the conveniences we had been so accustomned to it will be easier. Then perhaps you and W. E. B. can come visit us. Believe me you could find no place on earth with as much material for a book as here. Nowhere could you find such contrasts. Colours are more intense

27-17-57

the stars and the heavens seem nearer brighter. The nights are cool always tho the midday sun is most unkind to man animals and plants.

We are most grateful to have kept well so far. Larry has had one attack of dysentery and one real scare during the polio epidemic here. He had all the symptoms of polio landed in the hospital after fainting and being paralyzed one day. The third day he was back home. I shall be happy if he just keeps well. If faith begets and creates his faith will surely yield its fruits. The sense of the fulfilment of our function is our reward.

27-17-58

We shall be here till May 1st. Then we hope to be in temporary quarters on our land while building the motel. We have gotten a P. O. Box now so our permanent address will be P. O. Box 2262. How permanent of course rests with God.

With love to both of you from both of us. Affectionately yours,

Carol

P.S. Larry is in N. Rhodesia and Nyasaland this week so he's not here to add a few lines, but he will write you again & tell you about this Federation of Southern & Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

April28, 1955

Mr. Lawrence A. Hauts
P.O. Box 2262
Salisbury
S. Rhodesia, Africa

Dear Larry and Carol,

We have enjoyed your letter of March 1st, and are glad to be in touch with you again.

We are both of us quite well. February 26th we went to Haiti. I was almost certain we would be refused admission, but this was not so. We were received quite cordially and had a pleasant stay of three weeks in a beautiful and distressed country. This is always true of the West Indies. We returned March 17th and since then for the most part the weather in New York has been atrocious; cold and wet, with a ray of sunshine now and then.

Shirley has worked on her garden and it looks promising but no flowers. I have lectured a few times. My last one was on the occasion of Vincent Hallinan's release from prison. He has served eighteen months on a trumped up income tax charge. We had an overflow meeting at City Center and I gave one of the addresses. Numbers of people like Corliss Lamont, Cedric Belfrage, Karen Morley and others were present.

We have spent one weekend at Croton-on-the-Hudson where we me a number of friends.

On the whole the situation in America is slowly getting better. It is bad still, but the Matusow confession has rather shaken the war mongers. Matusow was one of the paid liars which the Department of Justice used to convict accused Communists. There is a general stirring up in the whole matter of paid informers.

Then again, the peace movement, although slight and suppressed, is getting stronger. I doubt if the Universal Military Service Bill will go through; and of course you have seen how the State Department has turned somersaults in its attitude towards China. Numbers of people have tentatively and with reservations begun to speak out. Of course you heard of McArthur's astonishing tirade against war. Also, Hutchins of the Ford Foundation, formerly President of the University of Chicago, made a splendid speech for a free press before the Publishers Association.

On the other hand, numbers of people are still in jail, others are being threatened, in cases which are too unjust to

27-17-4

believe possible in the United States. We are not rid of the possibility of war yet, but it is not so certain as it seemed a few months ago.

I am very much interested in your African venture. I often thought of you, especially during the Bandung conference.

Shirley has just received proofs of her new book on Booker Washington to be published by Messner, and also has been offered a contract for the re-publication of her YOUR HUMBLE SERVANT in Czechoslovakia.

My IN BATTLE FOR PEACE is going to be published in Czechoslovakia and one chapter from my new novel, published in Masses and Mainstream February has brought considerable correspondence. It is very long and quite radical and I have as yet no contract for its publication.

I hope your work will go on well and remember that we think about you continually and wish very much we were going to see you soon.

With love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[Haynes]

Mrs. Octavia Jeter Dash
announces the marriage of her sister
Olyve Love Jeter
to
Dr. George Edmund Haynes
on Tuesday, the twelfth of April
nineteen hundred and fifty-five
Grace Congregational Church
New York City

At home after May 10th
303 Tecumseh Avenue
Mount Vernon, New York

[Haynes]

April 27, 1955

Dr. and Mrs. George Edmund Haynes
303 Tecumseh Avenue
Mount Vernon, New York

Dr. and Mrs. W.E.B. Du Bois send congratulations and good wishes to Dr. and Mrs. George E. Haynes on the occasion of their marriage.

Oliver F. Higgs
1968½ W. 23rd Street
Los Angeles 18, Calif.
April 24, 1955

To Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois;
Dear Sir:

Recently I returned a copy of your BLACK RECONSTRUCTION, which I had been reading, to the library. The only reason why a copy of it does not sit on the shelves of my own library with most of your other books is because I have not found myself financially able at particular times to extend to its price.

BLACK RECONSTRUCTION was a great revelation to me. Not so much of the historical aspect itself, of which I possessed a good, fairly good, rather, general knowledge, but of the historic monumentality, economically and socially, the immense documentation and research, and your peerless literary genius which frequently broke through the long, heavy essay with flaming shafts of dramatic splendor and poetic magnitude. Out of many great passages, paragraphs and phrases one sentence struck me with soul-searing preservation. It is from the chapter 'The Coming of the Lord', and sings the emotional depths of the newly emancipated slaves' glory and gratitude in "A great human sob shrieked in the the wind, and tossed its tears upon the sea___free, free, free."

I can visualize that if during my lifetime the affects of color, racial and all artificial, degrading class distinctions in America and throughout the world would be obliterated by some great event, I would rejoice with millions of others in that same vein of soulful thankfulness which you so wondrously expressed in artistic perfection.

However the most singular revelation to me about BLACK RECONSTRUCTION is the precedence which it takes, as a whole, over your THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK and DARKWATER. I had thought such a thing virtually impossible in a book on American Negroes of social and historical import and literary caliber. But I had harldy read a hundred pages of BLACK RECONSTRUCTION when its precedence over the latter books, which each I have read twice through and almost know by heart, became quite apparent. Of course as literary art it does not match those books but as an extensive, scientific essay on a great human social experience, its value as a whole projects it ahead of them.

At previous times I have looked through BLACK RECONSTRUCTION in the library, reading bits here and there, to get some idea of it as a whole, but its greatness was hardly revealed to me through such cursory inspection. The same kind

27-10-34

of inspection of your DARK PRINCESS was much less encouraging to read, to be frank, rather disappointing in contrast to your other works, but since you mention it as your favorite book in DUSK OF DAWN I intend to read it soon and see what I might have been missing. If I found BLACK RECONSTRUCTION technically ponderous and politically jumbled up at times to where it verged upon boredom, I remembered that such things constituted Reconstruction history and recalled my own historical incapacity to readily absorb and digest such specific data.

Ten years ago this spring or last winter, I'm not sure which, I was introduced to you through BLACK FOLK: Then and Now, which I found in my high school library. The great racial revelation of that experience is one that I shall never forget and whose mark is indelibly forged upon my aim and outlook in life. Of course most of its technical information was much further beyond my memory's digestion then than that of BLACK RECONSTRUCTION is now, but I fully perceived its social, historical and cultural import of the Negro race, and its general outlines and main points. From that book my enlightened soul was wedded to yours forever.

If I now aspire to fame, greatness, glory and achievement, the most ironic thing is not such an aspiration of fancy and faith, nor the slim, ver slim, chance of ever realizing such heights, but the lack of the small opportunity to primarily attempt such heights by being heard as a writer. I have two manuscripts of poetry entitled AFRICAN SHADOWS and THE CONQUEST IS THE MIGHTY ROLE which I have been seeking publishers for in vain during the past year and a half. The first, in point of subject interest, would be very timely, I believe, and the average poems in both of them are equal to the very best poems in my brochure INTO THE REALM, of which you have a copy.

27-10-35

I intend to work in fiction prose sometime in the near future among other writings I have begun and planned, but I see no reason why poetry should suffer and fall, not just by the wayside but out of common existance, especially if it has something to offer in Beauty and Truth, instead of the metrical, symbolic and expressive innovations which have prostituted the Muse from reasonable to grotesque facsimiles of itself.

Any advice and aid you may be able to offer me in seeking a publisher and in writing I will gratefully receive. If you care to examine any of my manuscripts I will gladly send copies to you.

Sincerely Yours, Oliver F. Higgs

Oliver F. Higgs

April 27, 1955

Mr. Oliver F. Higgs
1968½ West 23 Street
Los Angeles 18, Calif.

Dear Mr. Higgs:

I have your letter of April 24th and thank you very much for your kind words.

I am sorry that the book *costs so much but it was published under a contract which leaves the ownership of the copyright to the publisher. I have therefore no voice in its further publication.

27-10-36

With regard to your poetry, it will probably be difficult to sell it today, but you might try UNITED ASIA, 120 Wodehouse Road, Bombay, India. At any rate, there is nothing for a creative writer to do but to keep writing as long as he has anything to say.

Very sincerely yours,

*Black Reconstruction

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Oliver F. Higgs
1968½ W. 23rd Street
Los Angeles 18, Calif.
May 10, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois;
Dear Sir:

I wish to express my deep thanks for your advice and en encouragement given me in your letter of April 29th.

I will seek information and possible publication from the company to which you referred me.

Sincerely Yours,
Oliver F. Higgs
Oliver F. Higgs

27-10-33

[Hill]

[1955]

COPY

TELEGRAM SENT TO LESLIE PINCKNEY HILL
46 Lincoln Av. YEARDON, PA.

WE GRIEVE WITH YOU AT JANE'S DEATH AND ALSO REJOICE WITH YOU AT SO FINE A LIFE OF LOVE AND SACRIFICE.

W.E.B.D.

27-10-38

LESLIE PINCKNEY HILL
MELROSE HAVEN
46 LINCOLN AVENUE
YEADON, PENNSYLVANIA

March 8, 1955

Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York, New York

Dear Friends:

Your words of comfort and appreciation have been very helpful in this time of great bereavement. It is, however, a time also of triumph for that high spirit in Jane Clark Hill which continues with us and which can never die.

27-10-37

Most gratefully yours,

Leslie Pinckney Hill

Leslie Pinckney Hill

LPH:ltp

January 6, 1955

General Herbert C. Holdridge
P.O. Box 1086
Sherman Oaks, California

My dear General:

I have just come across your letter of May 20, 1954. I have not answered before because, after all, what is there to say?

The failure of a third party movement in the United States is, I am afraid, not so much the failure of those who have worked to promote the movement as it is of the rank and file of the people of the United States, who have certainly not measured up today to the intelligence which we expect in Americans. Apparently we have stopped reading books, we read periodicals for their entertaining features and pictures, and we do not listen to lectures. In a constituency of that kind it is very hard to say what possibly can be done.

I have worked for the Progressive Party and gave such of my strength and time as seemed wise. I think something was accomplished, but not much; not nearly as much as reasonable and honest men could hope for.

I still believe that in time the commonsense of the American people is coming to the rescue, and that we are going to have a new birth of education in this land.

Until that time we can only sit and hope.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

DB:lh

HERBERT C. HOLDRIDGE . . . P.O. BOX 1086 • SHERMAN OAKS, CALIF.
BRIG. GEN. U.S. ARMY (RET.)

January 8, 1955.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
23 West 26th Street,
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your courteous letter of January 6th which I have just received. I can appreciate your feelings of near-discouragement about the prospects of a third party movement in the United States, for after over ten years of crusading since my retirement I often wonder what I have accomplished, if anything, and whether or not any purposes exist in continuing to make further effort.

At the moment I am engaged in two major campaigns, both of considerable potential. The first is my crusade against Vaticanism, which I started in 1953 and which has accelerated since that time and still shows no signs of slowing down, and my second a proposed extension of that campaign to check other forms of totalitarianism which threaten our freedoms. The success of this second campaign will depend upon the degree of interest shown by those on my mailing list and others whom I propose to try to arouse, and upon the receipt of adequate finances to make the program effective. We have rather ambitious plans under consideration for the promotion of this campaign. I enclose copies of my literature, and invite your attention in particular to my letter of January 1, 1955 on my proposal for an organization of Americans For Constitutional Action, in which the key-note must be the development of techniques for an economy of abundance. This should be of particular interest to members of the colored races who have much at stake.

27-10-32

In addition to the above, I have recently been selected as the Executive Director of a new organization for the aged - the ELDER CITIZENS ASSOCIATION. Formal announcement of this organization has not yet been made, but shodld be issued sometime during the coming week. We have plans for the expansion of this organization on a nation-wide basis. In our By-Laws we provide for membership without regard to race, religion or color. If you wish I shall be happy to send you material on this as the organization progresses.

I, too, believe that times are changing, and that soon the situation will be such that we shall have, at long last, the opportunity to express ourselves , of being heard, and of acting to correct the evils that exist in our society, of which you and I are both aware.

With best wishes for the New Year, I am

Very sincerely,

Herbert C. Holdridge

Hotel Mont-Joli
Cap-Haitien

[Hotel Mont-Joli]

Cap-Haitien February 10th. 1955

Mrs. W.E. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2,
New-York

Dear Mrs. Du Bois,

In reply of your nice letter of Feb, 5th. 1955, we are taking the pleasure to confirm your reservation for March 8th trough Marc 15.

Looking forward of having you very soon among us, we remain

Very truly yours,

Emlyne Mangones

Mrs. Emlyne Mangones
Manager

41/8E/18

[Howard]

June 17, 1955

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Upon the recommendation of my father, Mr. Charles P. Howard, I am writing this letter for the purpose of bringing to your attention my research project for the Ph. D. degree at Harvard University. Dad has suggested that you would know the answers to some of my questions and that you would be the most qualified person to give me some overall advice concerning my thesis topic. For the past year I have been working on materials dealing with American foreign relations with Africa south of the Sahara. I want to focus the thesis on the period between 1945 and 1952.

I was stimulated to pursue this topic partially as a result of a tour of Africa and further because of a challenge you raised in the introduction to *Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace,* (1945). You stated there that while the war had made it clear that it would be folly to create the peace as if colonial peoples could be regarded as pawns, that nonetheless you saw at that time no evidence that there was a post-war move away from the oligarchical control of European nations over Africa. You had taken this view as the result of wide experience. At the time you stated that it was imppssible to present documented proof. Today more than a decade later, there is considerable information upon which to make an assessment as to the extent to which the African colonial areas have emerged from their subordinate status in a world in which the role of the United States is of fundamental importance. Basically my effort is to document our response to the emergence of Africa in the post-war world.

As a preliminary step I have endeavored to chart the origin and development of America's official contact with *Afrique Noir.* I find that historians of American diplomacy, without exception, omit or consider unimportant our relations with Africa. From the standpoint of Africa's development since 1800 I find that the United States has had a much more involved contact with Africa than normally believed and moreover that contact has on the whole reflected America's ideological outlook. There is to be found in this contact a strong economic motivation and at various points the influence of the changing role of the Afro-American community is evident.

In view of the fact that our diplomatic relations with Africa are almost unrecorded I have expanded the origin and development section from a few pages into a bulky chapter. I have alluded to this contact under the following heads:

1. Slavery. The slave trade of course had a great impact as you have elsewhere recorded in detail. But in addition slavery formed a frame of reference within which other policies toward Africa materialized. Also important has been the influence exercised by Africans in America.
2. Liberia. Here I develop the history of the Republic vis-a-vis the role of the United States government.
3. The U.S. and the Partitioning of Africa.
   a. American mood on the eve of partitioning.
   b. U.S. recognition of the flag of the International African Association.
   c. The Berlin Conference of 1884-5, and the Congo.
4. Trade with Africa, a short sketch of the major areas of focus.
5. Ethiopia 1900 to 1937.
6. Other International involvement related to Africa.
   a. Boer War
   b. Algeciras

27-178-26

    c. Anti-slavery conferences. (Also firearms and Liquor)
    d. The Mandate System.

7. Summary, wherein it is stated that the U.S. involvement in Africa has been more extensive than generally assumed and moreover that the overall record suggested a liberal orientation. Nationalist leaders in Africa and European imperialists both felt that the post-war world under the leadership of Russia and the United States would mean a new deal for colonial peoples.

I have detailed the elements of the first chapter in order that you might have some specific idea of what I have been doing. Below are a few questions about this chapter.

1. Am I correct in assuming that there is no major work dealing with American foreign relations with Africa south of the Sahara?
2. What major U.S. involvements in Africa have I omitted?
3. Would you agree that the conclusion, stated above in point 7, was accurate as of September 1941?
4. To your knowledge did any of the Negro Congressmen in the pre-1900 period concern themselves with Africa?
5. Where can I find your views in detail relative to the 'Back to Africa' movement of Garvey?
6. Are the minutes for the early Pan-African Conferences available? Would they contain materials of use in my thesis, e.g. the recommendations sent to Colonel House during the Versailles deliberations?
7. Did Woodrow Wilson's plea for self-determination include colonial areas in Africa other than the holdings of the Central Powers?
8. Is it not true that the United States had almost no official contact with British West Africa after the suppression of the slave trade?
9. Was there any final disposition made of the claims of the widow of Colonel Edward MacMurdo in relation to the Delagoa Railroad?
10. Did the J. G. White Company of New York ever complete the dam at Lake Tsana in northwest Abyssinia?

I hope that this letter and these questions have not been too much of an imposition. I appreciate the fact that your schedule is crowded and that this is probably and inopportune time for questions. Any general or specific comment you might have, however, would be very much appreciated. Thank you for your time and trouble.

Yours truly,

Lawrence C. Howard
Lawrence C. Howard
105 Naples Road
Brookline, Mass.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

27-178-27

June 24, 1955

Mr. Lawrence C. Howard
105 Naples Road
Brookline, Mass.

Dear Mr. Howard:

Answering your letter of June 17, let me say:

1. There is no work covering the relations of the U.S.A. and Africa, 1945 to the present. Possibly your thesis might start a bit earlier, say 1914. On the other hand do not spend too much time on the "origin and development" section. It will prove fascinating and endless and divert you from the main thesis. You should read my "World and Africa," Viking, 1947.

2. Read Padmore, George, several volumes, the latest on the Gold Coast Revolution. Of course you know Buell's "Native Problem in Africa" and Logan's study of the Mandates. There is much French and Belgian literature and the studies made at the University of Pennsylvania in the last decade are of value.

3. There is not simply "a strong economic motivation" in U.S.A. contact with Africa. That is by far the strongest motive. You must read Karl Marx and his school on this no matter how much Harvard dissuades you.

4. In Liberia and among American Negroes the rise of a bourgeoisie is of greatest importance for understanding. Liberia is today a colony of American Big Business.

5. For a history of the Pan-African conferences consult "united Asia" published in Bombay. The last issue was for the Bandung Congress and had an article by me on Pan-Africa. Also very good article by Padmore.

6. There were four articles in the Crisis by me on Garvey.

7. Consult "New Times and Ethiopian Review" on Ethiopia.

I hope these notes will help you. Three other books of mine will help: "What the Negro Wants" (Chapter 2; "Black Folk Then and Now," Holt, 1939, and "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade." Also Eric Williams and Frobenius.

Very sincerely,

W.E.B.D./el

W.E.B. DU BOIS

27-17A-67

[1955?]

[Hughes]

RESERVE COLUMN——TO HOLD IN FILES
FOR USE IN CASE OF EMERGENCY NEED

Such a beautiful book!

Langston

CHICAGO DEFENDER

LANGSTON HUGHES

BASIC NEGRO BOOKS TO KEEP AND READ AGAIN

There are some books that one can always reread in their entirety, or pick up and dip into again at almost any point or any time, and be instructed and entertained anew. Among the great books of all time that are favorites of mine are Homer's "Odyssey" and Omar Khayyam's "Rubaiyat" out of the far distant past, and "Aucassin and Nicolette" and "Don Quixote" whose pages never cease to delight. And of more recent days and written in our own land are Thoreau's "Walden" and Walt Whitman's "Leaves of Grass" especially.

27-11-15

Among the books by or about Negroes that I think every home library should have, and that never fail to come alive the minute you open their pages, are Dunbar's poems, Booker T. Washington's great autobiography, and that of Frederick Douglass, the novel that shook the nation, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and the turn of the century's great resumé of Negro life, "The Souls of Black Folk," as well as morerecent books like "The Story of the Negro" and "Tell Freedom" and that wonderful anthology, "The Negro Caravan." Indeed I think these eight books might well form the basis of any library relating to our people.

For an understanding of slavery, [redacted] the sweetness of freedom, and the dangers involved in seeking freedom, "The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass" is essential reading. Besides, it is a thrilling and beautiful book in itself, the story of one of the greatest men of Negro blood in American history. Booker T. Washington's autobiography, too, is a most moving story of the trials and tribulations of a man and a people travelling onward and upward from bondage. "Up From Slavery" has been called deservingly "an American classic" and it has been translated into almost every known language and read around the world. So has "Uncle Tom's Cabin" written by a white woman, Harriett Beecher Stowe, who hated slavery and whose book shook the conscience of a nation and helped to bring on the Civil War and freedom for us all. Although published a hundred years ago, it is still vivid and alive and wide-awake reading today.

In 1903 Dr. W. E. B. DuBois published his poetically written, "The Souls of Black Folk" now recently reissued in a handsome new edition. As beautiful to read today as it was a half-century ago, this books tells of Negro struggle and Negro longing, of dreams and hopes and achievements, in deeply human terms. Briefly and in a most readable fashion, the whole history of the Negro from the great days of the great African kingdoms through the Middle Passage and Jamestown right on up to Marian Anderson and Ralph Bunche, Arna Bontemps captures in his "The Story of the Negro" about the most concise history of our people to be gotten in so simple and vivid a form. And that amazing anthology, a big collection of stories, poems, essays, folk materials, biographies, and dramas, "The Negro Caravan" gives us art, history, and achievement all in one single volume-----an invaluable book which should be in every home and school.

27-11-16

And since Africa is so much in the news these days, being a continent in turmoil and transition, one of the most personal and informative books about South Africa is Peter Abraham's own story of growing up a colored youth in Johannesburg and having to get away to England in order to feel free [illegible] to write his books. "Tell Freedom" gives us an insight on life in another country beset by color problems, and lets us know that the U. S. A. is not the only land where Jim Crow has been allowed to develope into a monster, or where Negroes, in spite of oppression, manage to hope and dream and achieve. As examples of Negro achievement, Douglass and Washington and DuBois, Dunbar and Bontemps and Abrahams, add to the cultural wealth and value of anyone's bookshelves anywhere in the world. For families with children these are good books to have around the house as the children grow up----"The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass," "Up From Slavery," "The Souls of Black Folk," "The Collected Poems of Paul Laurence Dunbar," "The Story of the Negro" and "The Negro Caravan" plus that great old American novel, "Uncle Tom's Cabin"------because to understand our present one must know our past.

ALGONQUIN 4-0397

HUNGARIAN WORD, Inc.

130 EAST 16th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

132

(no envelope found)

March 11, 1955.

Dear Friend:

Amid the great stresses of international tension and the overwhelming problems of safeguarding freedom at home, few Americans are aware of the fact that great segments of humanity are celebrating this year - simultaneously with the tenth anniversary of the crumbling of the Nazi empire - the anniversary of their national independence.

On April 4th it will be the tenth anniversary of the liberation of Hungary, too. That event was not only one of the great turning points of World War II., but also the dawn of a new era for the long suffering, long oppressed Hungarian people.

27-17-50

Our newspaper will publish a special edition on this occasion conveying the good wishes of many in the Hungarian American community.

We feel it would be an honor to the occasion and a contribution to the understanding between the peoples of the United States and of Hungary if, on this occasion, our newspaper could carry the greetings of such Americans who in these adverse days steadfastly and nobly stood guard by the finest traditions of American democracy.

For this reason we would consider a great honor if you would send your message of good will through our newspaper to the Hungarian people on this historic anniversary. We are enclosing a stamped, self-addressed return envelope for your convenience.

Hoping to have the honor of your reply, we remain

respectfully yours
Hungarian Word
Zoltan Deak
Zoltan Deak
Editor in chief

P.S.
For a timely survey of the meaning of the day we are enclosing a statement by the eminent Hungarian scholar, Professor Istvan Rusznyak.
Also under separate cover we are sending a magazine showing the life in the new Hungary.

[Hungarian Word]

March 23, 1955

Mr. Zoltan Deak, Editor
Hungarian Word, Inc.
130 East 16 Street
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Deak:

My greetings and best wishes to the HUNGARIAN nation in their difficult but triumphant rise to the status of Free Democracy.

I saw the beginning of the struggle which Hungary was making in 1893 to become an independent nation. I know how great the struggle has been since that time and how much has been accomplished.

I hope for every further success.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-17-53

[Hungarian Word]

BIRTHDAY OF OUR LIBERTY

by István Rusznyák, M. D.

Chairman, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest

April 4, 1945, the Soviet Army after heroic battles drove the last remnants of the Hitlerite occupation troops from Hungarian soil. Ten years ago the Hungarian people became free and independent.

Liberty is a precious treasure to all peoples. But for us, Hungarians, who lived for centuries under tyrannical foreign rule, it is particularly dear. The best sons of our people fought for freedom: Janos Hunyadi, the outstanding European military leader of the 15th century: Miklós Zrinyi, poet and general; Ferenc Rákóczi, the leader of the struggle for freedom, in the early 18th century; and Lajos Kossuth, the leader of the War of Independence of 1848—49. Our greatest writers, artists and scientists, Balint Balassi, Sandor Petőfi, Attila József, Ignac Semmelweis, Lorand Eötvös, Ferenc Erkel and Béla Bartók fought with pen and with deeds to make Hungary a country of happy and free people.

The freedom we won ten year ago means infinitely much to us.

It means the power of the people: democratic suffrage and a National Assembly made up of the people, of workers, peasants and intellectuals. It means our people's democratic Constitution, which codifies the right to work, to recreation, to education, to health protection, and at the same time ensures the practical enforcement of thes rights. It means socialist law and order, the observance of which is guarded by our public proescutors and courts.

27-17-51A

The progress that has taken place since Liberation has brought for the one-time downtrodden Hungarian workers, deprived of all rights in the past, an end to unemployment, hundreds of new factories, and hundreds of thousands of new secure and healthful jobs. New Hungary has grown into an industrial country. Her manufacturing industry is producing three and a half times as much as in 1938. New industrial towns have been built, like Sztalinvaros and Komló. In such revitalized old industrial towns as Tatabánya, Győr, Salgótarjan and Miskolc new, bright and airy residential quarters for workers have been established. For the Hungarian working class freedom means resorts on Lake Balaton, young workers in the university lecture rooms, and a thousand and one joys of culture and amusement.

With the liberty we gained ten years ago, a new life has dawned for millions of Hungarian peasants also. The Land Reform, for which they had yearned for generations, was carried through and liquidating the system of big landed properties which usurped half the tillable land of the country, it·gave 1.8 million hectares of land to the peasantry. Thousands of new machines are working on our fields. The drought-ridden Great Plains are being made more fertile through an irrigation system. Electricity is being installed in hundreds of our villages, and hundreds of thousands of young people and adults are studying and acquiring culture in the newly-built schools and cultural centers... All this has been achieved for our peasantry by the ten years of freedom.

27-17-51B

I am a physician and research worker. Thus, I am particularly impressed by the penetrating and inspiring changes which have taken place in the life of our intelligentsia. In the past of the 40 physicians who worked at my university hospital only 7 were paid. Today every single worker at the No 1 University Hospital for Internal Diseases, which I head, and every employee of every single Hungarian scientific institution receives a salary that assures a decent standard of living. In the past is was difficult to secure scientific equipment, even if the cost would have been comparatively little. Today our People's Democratic Government places all the instruments and materials we need at our disposal. Today our State spends two thousands times as much on subsidizing scientific research institutes as was done before Liberation! All cultural workers —whether they be village teachers or choir directors of the factory cultural centers, research scientists or engineers who design flats, bridges or machines—labor, enjoying the respect and affection of society. Hundreds of them have been honored with the Kossuth Prize or other Government distinctions, and many are members of village, municipal or county Councils or of the National Assebly.

Scholars and scientists are doing their share in the all-out effort to enhance the well-being of our people, to improve culture and to provide effective health protection. They are unearthing the great traditions of our national literature, and as a result of their work, critical editions of the works of our greatest poets—Sandor Petőfi, Janos Arany and Attila József—have been published during recent months. The Hungarian Academy of Sciences is publishing—from the pen of our world-famous composer and musicologist Zoltan Kodaly, twice awarded the Kossuth Prize—volumes of important collections of folk music which Béla Bartók and Kodaly Zoltan had tried in vain to publish for decades before the Liberation.

One of the main problems in the development of our national economy is the flourishing of agriculture. Our scientists are working persistently to this end as, for instance, Rezső Manninger, who has produced remarkable results in the control of contagious diseases in animals, and Kurt Sedlmayr whose achievements in the breeding of sugar beets and barley are noteworthy. Our foremost scientists and experts took an active part in the elaboration of the programme for the development of agriculture. Much is being done by our scientists to develop our industry as well. Suffice it to mention the results Sandor Geleji has achieved in the mechanics of metallurgical engineering, the metallographic research done by József Verő, and Nandor Barany's optical research.

27-17-52

We Hungarian scientists believe that science must not be divorced from life, that its task is the service of the people, of mankind. These are the ends to which the theoretical work of our research workers contribute. Respect for theoretical research, for pioneer results based on independent study, is reflected in the Kossuth Prize of the highest class awarded to the wellknown Hungarian mathematician Frigyes Riesz for his achievements in functional analysis, or in the Kossuth Prize the physicist Pal Gombas won for developing a new-statistical nuclear theory.

The most important problem which occupies the attention of us Hungarians is the idea of peace.

We know very well that all our achievements up to now, our entire progress, are the fruits of peaceful creative work. We are fighting to preserve our present achievements and to ensure the opportunity for the continued building of our country when we are doing our best within our modest means to support the strivings of the peace-loving people of the world for closer international co-operation and for the peaceful settlement of problems.

We Hungarian scientists profess with firm conviction that science must be in the service of understanding between the peoples and of peace.

The Hungarian people celebrate the tenth anniversary of their liberation in the spirit of peace And it is in the spirit of peace that they aspire for new successes to make their life still more beautiful and happy and to advance their culture.

41-19E-11

BIRTHDAY GRE(41)..1INGS

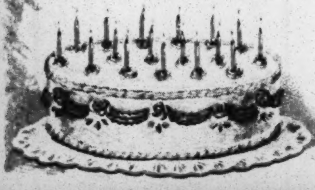
by WESTERN UNION

.NBA263 BDA PD=NEW YORK NY 23 451PME=1955 FEB 23 PM 5 42

:DR W E B DUBOIS=
:31 GRACE COURT=

HAPPY BIRTHDAY AND MANY MORE FOR YOUR GREAT WORK HAPPY VACATION=

:YOUR DEVOTED SECRETARY LILLIAN HYMAN=



Happy Birthday

COPYRIGHT 1951 BY THE WESTERN UNION TEL. CO.

42-1A-89

November 2, 1955

His Excellency,
Ambassador of India to the United Nations

Dear Mr. Krishna Menon:

My wife and I extend a cordial invitation to you to dine with us Thursday, November 24th at seven o'clock.

This is our national Thanksgiving Day particularly dedicated to family gatherings. This year we should be most happy to have you join us for an informal evening of relaxation in our home.

We live in Brooklyn Heights, just over the Brooklyn Bridge from lower Manhattan. I will give you details about transportation.

Most sincerely,

"PEOPLES' THEATRE STARS THE PEOPLE"

INDIAN PEOPLES' THEATRE ASSOCIATION

(WEST BENGAL COMMITTEE)

46, DHARMATALA STREET, CALCUTTA-13, INDIA.

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Treasurer :
NIBEDITA DAS

Ref. Invitation/ 354

Dated the 15th March, 1955.

Dear friend,

The 1st Conference of the West Bengal State I.P.T.A. is going to be held in Calcutta from the 14th to 18th April, 1955.

You are perhaps aware that since its birth in the year 1943, the I.P.T.A. has been striving to portray the hopes, aspirations, joys, sorrows, toils and tears of our great people through its creations and twelve years of consistent struggle despite tremendous obstacles have earned for the I.P.T.A. a warm place in the hearts of our masses.

This Conference, where about 800 artist-delegates from about 150 I.P.T.A. branches in the 13 districts of West Bengal and about 100 fraternal delegates are expected to take part, will see the emergence of a still stronger I.P.T.A. in its scope and participation and will lay the basis of a broad platform of artistes, writers, composers and technicians who love our people and are eager to see them happy and prosperous under the protective wings of the Dove of Peace.

On behalf of the State Committee, I have the greatest honour in inviting you to take part in this Conference of ours and I hope you will be kind enough to accept this humble invitation. We sincerely believe that your participation will be very much helpful for the success of our Conference.

In case, however, in your pre-occupations if you do not find it convenient to participate in the Conference, a message from you will be very much encouraging.

With deep respects and warmest greetings,

Fraternally yours,
Nirmal Ghose
(NIRMAL GHOSE)
Secretary,
I.P.T.A. - West Bengal

27-10-39

March 29, 1955

Mr. Nirmal Ghose
Indian Peoples' Theatre Association
46 Dharmatala Street
Calcutta 13, Indian

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter of March 15 may I express my great interest in your movement, and my regret that I cannot attend the meeting in Calcutta April 14 - 18.

As I presume you know, no American citizen can leave the country by plane or ship without a passport, and I have repeatedly been refused a passport because of my advocacy of Peace and my attitude of friendship toward the Soviet Union and the Chinese Peoples Republic.

I have repeatedly applied for a passport and shall in the future, but there is little likelihood of its being granted me, and I certainly shall not change my honest beliefs.

I believe that the folk drama development among the masses of people is one of the best and most inspiring ways of spreading civilisation and improving human culture. I therefore wish your movement every success, and hope that it will grow and spread.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-40

[Indonesian News Agency]

May 12, 1955

Mr. Sukrisno
Indonesian News Agency
55 West 42 Street
New York 36, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Sukrisno:

You will perhaps remember meeting me at the Czechoslovakian reception, and promising to send me the report or reports in English on the Bandung Conference.

I hope you will be able to do this.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

TELEPHONE: MUrray hill 5-2864
CABLE: *INTERBOOK* NEW YORK

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

381 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

February 15, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N Y

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We have sent you a copy of Volume Four, LIFE AND WRITINGS OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS, thus completing this undertaking. We feel that we have built a monument to Douglass, but unfortunately few people have yet seen it. Due to the necessarily high price of the set (although we have reduced the price to $15.00 for the set), only few of the libraries and educational institutions which should have this work have been able to afford it. I have been turning over in my mind the idea of finding some means to raise the necessary funds so that the set can be donated to deserving educational institutions and libraries throughout the country. It occurred to me that the logical organization for undertaking such a social service would be the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. I would be interested in your opinion regarding this project and in whatever suggestions you may wish to offer for putting it into effect.

Very sincerely yours,

James S. Allen
JAMES S. ALLEN

JSA:el

27-10-41

February 21, 1955

Mr. James S. Allen
International Publishers
381 Fourth Avenue
New York, 16, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Allen:

Thank you very much for Volume IV of LIFE AND WRITINGS OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS. I shall read it with interest and do what I can to increase its circulation.

I do not know anything about the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History as it exists today, but I think you would be wise in approaching it and trying to get cooperation.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-42

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 5-2864
CABLE: *INTERBOOK* NEW YORK

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

381 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16

March 2, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N Y

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You will be interested to know that I received quite a friendly letter from Dr. Wesley; he explained to me that the accumulated debts of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History were so great that they had all they could do to raise money to meet them. Therefore, he felt that they were not in a position to undertake the task of raising a fund to place the Douglass sets in libraries.

27-10-43

Nevertheless the idea is still a good one -- the only way, it seems to me, to make the Douglass writings available to a broader public. I hope to have the opportunity to discuss this with you in the near future.

Very sincerely yours,

James S. Allen

James S. Allen

JSA:el

INTERNATIONAL

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 5-2864
CABLE: *INTERBOOK* NEW YORK

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

381 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

April 7, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N Y

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I wonder if you would not write a brief statement with respect to the completion of the four-volume LIFE AND WRITINGS OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS which can be used for publication and promotion. In addition to their earlier statements, I have received excellent comments on the set as a whole from Dr. Frazier and Dr. Wesley, and a very enthusiastic note from Ben Davis. Even Saunders Redding praised the work very highly in his column in the Baltimore Afro-American, and there have also been other favorable reviews and comments.

27-17-28

I would greatly appreciate your statement, if possible, within the next few days.

Very sincerely yours,

J. S. Allen

James S. Allen

JSA:el

209

April 8, 1955

Mr. James S. Allen
International Publishers
381 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Allen:

I regret to say that I have been out of town until recently, and have been a little under the weather since returning.

If the enclosed statement is not too late and is suitable, you are at liberty to use it:

"The completion of the four-volume LIFE AND WRITINGS OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS by Mr. Foner is a monumental work of sacrifice and devotion.

First of all, much has been rescued from loss and oblivion which otherwise would not have been put at the service of scholarship. And secondly, there has been a skill and accuracy of scholarship which is seldom found today, especially in lines of work which bring neither money nor acclaim.

It is the duty of every person of Negro descent, and every person who sympathises with the Negro's history in America, to buy these volumes and to try to induce others to do the same."

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-17-29

International Student Seminar

ON

PROBLEMS OF COLONIALISM RELATED TO CULTURE AND EDUCATION AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF STUDENTS AND THEIR ORGANISATIONS

International Preparatory Committee:

1. *West African Students Union (WASU)*
2. *Union Générale des Etudiants Tunisiens (UGET)*
3. *Fédération des Etudiants d'Afrique Noire en France (FEANF)*
4. *Association des Etudiants Musulmans Nord-Africains (AEMNA)*
5. *Association des Etudiants d'Origine Malgache (AEOM)*
6. *International Union of Students (IUS)*

Address: c/o Vocelova 3, Prague XII
Cable address: UNISTUD Prague
Telephon: 235641, 242122, 242832
Date:
Ref.: IPC/SB/mp

13. XII. 1955

W.E.Burghardt Du Bois,Esq.
Thirty-one Grace Court
Brooklyn 2
N.Y.

27-17-32

Dear Sir,

This is to acknowledge your letter of November 4th, addressed to Mr.Pelikan, President of the IUS. Please accept our best thanks for your valuable contribution to the Seminar on Problems of Colonialism which, for technical reasons, had to be postponed until the month of April.

Your speech made in Chicago before the peace meeting has been carefully studied and will be used in our publications related to the Seminar.

Thanking you again for your friendly co-operation, we are, dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

Babak

Sadek Babak
For the International Preparatory
Committee

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS
МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЙ СОЮЗ СТУДЕНТОВ
UNION INTERNATIONALE DES ETUDIANTS
UNION INTERNACIONAL DE ESTUDIANTES
MEZINÁRODNÍ SVAZ STUDENTSTVA
國際學生聯合會

PRAHA XII, VOCELOVA 3, ČSR   TEL.: 23-56-41, 24-24-23, 24-28-32   TELEGR.: UNISTUD PRAHA

DEPT.:

PRAHA 20 X 1955

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10
N.Y. U.S.A.

42-1A-107

Dear Sir,

We are glad to inform you that an International Seminar on the theme of "Problems of Colonialism relating to Culture and Education and the Responsability of the Students and their organisations" will be held in Munich /Western Germany/ from 5th to 12th December 1955.

The aim of the Seminar is to render all possible assistance in the struggle against colonialism by publicising the adverse effects of colonial rule on the education and culture of a people.

We shall be highly grateful if you could kindly send us your valuable comments on the subject of colonialism - its effects on national education and culture. Such comments will be extremely useful in the Seminar and will greatly contribute to its success.

We look forward to hearing from you about this matter and hope that you will also send a message to the Seminar.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
for R.O.Thomas
Jiri Pelikan
President

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS

Sent Speech
Nov 4, 55

[1955]

Youth Peace

31-5-18

Dear Sir,

We are pleased to send you new information on the forthcoming meeting of the International Preparatory Committee of the 5th World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship.

The convening of the 5th Festival in Warsaw, 1955, has aroused enthusiastic echos amongst the youth in different countries.

Numerous committees have already been constituted on national and local scales with the support of organisations of many different opinions, cultural figures, as well as sports circles.

Many proposals for the programme of the Festival and messages of support for the first meeting of its International Preparatory Committee have been sent by national and international associations as well as by well-known people in the field of labour, science, culture and sports.

We have the honour of communicating some additional details concerning this meeting.

In order to precise the information we gave in our previous letter regarding the agenda, we inform you that general and particular discussions are planned on the different aspects of the programme of the Festival, culture, sports, recreation, etc.

The meeting will take place in the Konzerthaus, Vienna III, Lothringerstrasse 20, near the Allied Forces Command. The planned date is December 17th, as was previously indicated.

Also, in the Stefania Hotel, Vienna II, Taborstrasse 12, from December 5th on, there will be a Service at your disposal, from which you can obtain all information.

We are convinced that you will give your support to the preparations of the Festival, this noble activity for co-operation and friendship between all youth.

Hoping to hear from you soon, and with warm greetings, we are,

Sincerely yours,

For the World Federation
of Democratic Youth:
B. Bernini
B. BERNINI
President

Benczur-utca 34.
Budapest, Hungary.

For the International
Union of Students:
P.O. **J. PELIKAN**
General Secretary

Vocelova ulica 3.
Prague, C. S. R.

[Irwin High School]

January 27, 1955

Dr. Randolph Smith
Elisabeth Irwin High School
40 Charlton Street
New York 11, New York

Dear Dr. Smith:

I was, I confess, a little upset by all the circumstances surrounding your invitation to speak for your school, but I realise my obligation to those of your students who did want me, and I am prepared to speak Monday, February 14th, under the following conditions:

My subject will be FREEDOM OF OPINION, and I shall seek to stress the essential thing about education as the right to reach one's own opinions, and the ability to reach opinions after thought and research.

27-17A-46

I shall seek to illustrate this as the foundation of real democracy, and show how force has never been able to act as a substitute. I shall refer to the religious wars and the inquisition in Europe; to the question of slavery in the United States, and the present problem of Communism in the modern world. I shall emphasize the fact that I am not interested at the moment in what conclusions on any subject persons come to, but my supreme interest is that they should have the right freely to come to their conclusions; and that their conclusions should be based on their own effort to know the truth.

Secondly, I have found it necessary always to charge a fee for my lectures, which in this case would be $50.

If the above conditions are satisfactory to you, will you kindly let me know.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

LITTLE RED SCHOOL HOUSE
ELISABETH IRWIN HIGH SCHOOL
GRamercy 7-5316

LITTLE RED SCHOOL HOUSE
196 Bleecker St. New York City 12

RANDOLPH B. SMITH
Director

ELISABETH IRWIN HIGH SCHOOL
40 Charlton Street, New York City 14

January 28, 1955

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for your considerate acceptance of our invitation to speak to our older high school students and members of the staff on Monday afternoon, February 14th, at 3:00 P.M. We are very happy that you can come and are quite ready to accept the conditions you suggest. Indeed we feel that there is hardly any other subject more appropriate for a school audience at the present time than the one which you suggest. Our group will probably be an audience of about one hundred students ranging in age from fifteen to eighteen years.

Am I right in thinking that you will plan to speak for about forty minutes following which we will have a somewhat similar time for talk and discussion together?

Should you be coming by public transportation from your office, I think the downtown (Church Street) Sixth Avenue bus would be more convenient since that lets you off at the corner of Charlton Street, only a half block from the school.

If, by chance, you will be coming from Brooklyn, probably the Seventh Avenue Express to Chambers Street and local to Houston Street would be most suitable. Charlton Street is two blocks south of Houston Street and the school is in the block between Sixth Avenue and Varick Street.

We appreciate very much your kindness in accepting and look forward very much to your coming.

Very sincerely yours,

Randolph B. Smith

Randolph B. Smith,
Director.

RBS:aj

27-178-14

LITTLE RED SCHOOL HOUSE
ELISABETH IRWIN HIGH SCHOOL

GRamercy 7-5316

LITTLE RED SCHOOL HOUSE
196 Bleecker St. New York City 12

ELISABETH IRWIN HIGH SCHOOL
40 Charlton Street, New York City 14

RANDOLPH B. SMITH
Director

February 16, 1955

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I want to express to you our very sincere thanks for your kindness in speaking to our group last Monday afternoon. Students were very much impressed by your thoughtful address and though they may have hoped for more answers to their questions in the following discussion, they recognized the validity of your leaving them with a challenge to their own serious thoughts and study.

It was a distinct privilege for all of us to have this hour and a half with you.

With many thanks and kind personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Randolph B. Smith

Randolph B. Smith,
Director.

RBS:aj

27-178-15

To Dr. Du Bois

Wishing you daily
And monthly and yearly
The good things in life
That you treasure
most dearly!

Lottie Jarvis

2/23/55

41|19D-F|42

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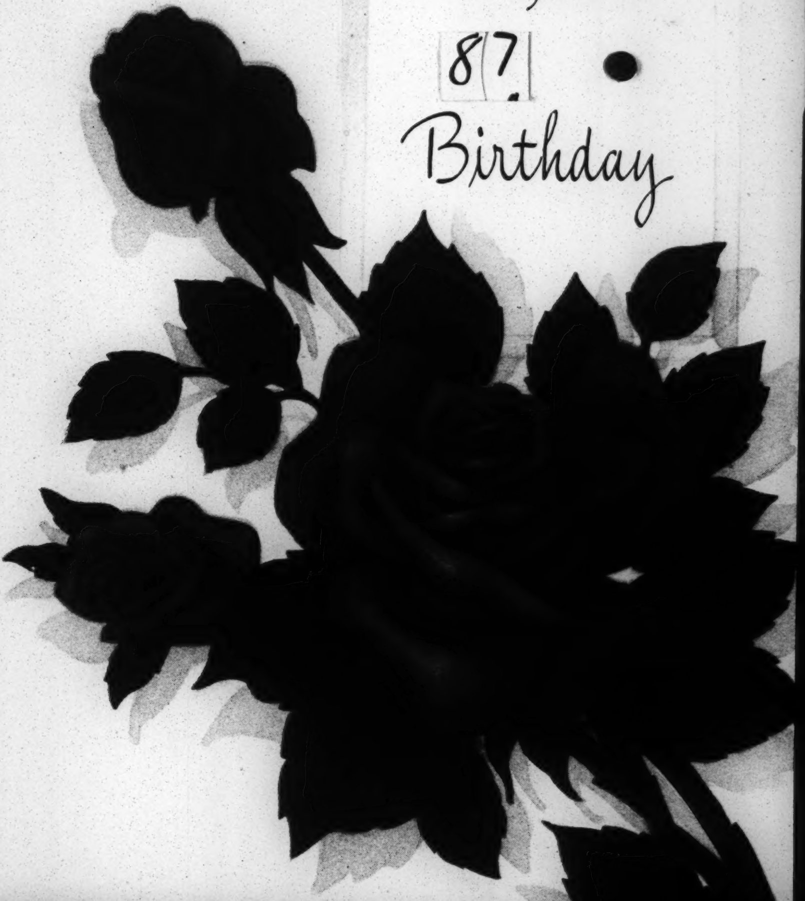
CLEVELAND, U. S. A.

ON YOUR

87

Birthday



May 5, 1955

Jefferson Book Shop
575 Sixth Avenue
New York 11, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

I have come into possession of 200 copies of my COLOR AND DEMOCRACY, the last of them in print.

I can let you have any or all of them at 75¢ a copy. Are you interested?

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-17-65

JEFFERSON BOOK SHOP INC.
575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS
WAtkins 9-5182 NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

May 10 - 55

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Thank you for your letter of May 5th. We would like to start off with 50 copies of your book entitled "Color and Democracy".

With warm greetings

Maurice Wechsler

JEFFERSON BOOK SHOP, Inc.
575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS
NEW YORK 11, N. Y.
WAtkins 9-5182

27-17-61

412

May 31, 1955

Mr. Doxey Wilkerson
Jefferson School
575 Sixth Avenue
New York 11, N.Y.

Dear Doxey:

I have received a receipt from 23 West 26 Street for the payment of $285. I want to thank your committee very much for this, and express my deep appreciation.

I wrote you some years ago and have had no answer. Let me know how you are.

My best regards to you and Yolande.

Sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-46

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
575 Avenue of the Americas, New York 11, N. Y.
WAtkins 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM
Director
DAVID GOLDWAY
Executive Secretary
DOXEY A. WILKERSON
Director of Curriculum

October 26, 1955

42-2A-42

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

This was typed by Mrs. Ethel Newton, 53 Barrow Street, New York, N.Y. She does not want to be paid.

Incidentally, I am sure she would be glad to help you with occasional typing jobs which could be done in the evening after work. She can be called at CHelsea 3-8206.

Sincerely,

Doxey A. Wilkerson

412

EDITORIAL BOARD:
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Jewish Life
A Progressive Monthly

22 East 17TH STREET
ROOM 601
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
Telephone:
WATKINS 4-5740-1

January 12, 1955.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York City.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Enclosed are proofs of your article, which will appear in the February issue, out about January 20. These galleys have not been proofread.

If you would like to make any changes, will you be good enough to let me know about them within a few days, since I hope to go to press within a week.

Cordially yours,

Louis Harap

Louis Harap
Managing Editor

EDITORIAL BOARD:
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Jewish Life
A Progressive Monthly

22 East 17TH STREET
ROOM 601
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
Telephone:
WATKINS 4-5740-1

December 19, 1955.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 East 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

42-1A-3

In accordance with your request, I am recapitulating our telephone conversation of this morning.

We should be privileged to publish an article-review by you on John Gunther's "Inside Africa" for our February issue. The review would fall with special appropriateness in this issue as part of Negro History Week. The piece should be about 2,000 words and I should very much like to receive it by January 6th.

There will be a $25.00 honorarium for the article-review.

We look forward very much to publishing this piece.

Cordially yours,

Louis Harap

Louis Harap
Managing Editor

209

Feb. 15, 1955

Mrs. Georgia Douglass Johnson
Halfway House
1461 S Street Northwest
Washington, D.C.

Dear Georgia:

I was glad to have a note from you and know that you are still writing. I saw your poem in PHYLON.

I am still busy, and Shirley is in the best of health.

When you come this way let us know.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-3

Georgia Douglas Johnson

Halfway House

1461 S Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

5/12/55

Dear Dr. Dubois:

I am anxious to know just what your personal reaction is to the import of this poem.

I have gathered numerous **sayings**, thoughts etc., during the past years, some of which remind me of you in their interpretation of you. Shall send them when I can. I am absolutely buried in papers, notes etc., that have accumulated through the years. Naturally, there is no one to help me systematize these findings so it must wait; however, if you have heard the SEPTEMBER SONG, you will understand just how over whelmed as I look around.

I have collected, written and etc., about twenty two books, only a few of which , four I guess, are published. Have tried every fellowship and writer's aid operating but have been turned down each time (they say age) some of them even four times!

As you may know the young writers of Washington used my home as a sort of literary center for a long time. It therefore, is a fact that I know the truth concerning their beginnings as no one else could since they were at my home each Saturday night and some of them, daily. I feel sad to think that the truths I know may never reach the ears of the future. It may be that you could see the aperture, the rift in the sky, the star shining in the darkness, that I cannot discern.

27-17A-61

I know how busy you are, I know how far from receiving the crowns and plaudits you have so fully and richly deserved and how on the other hand, you have been misrepresented, persecuted, reviled and above all maybe, mostly envied, and yet, with your superlative intellect you can see beyond, above, through and around the present mountains obstructing the view of ordinary person. Therefore, somehow I write this to you when I only meant primarily, to ask you the first question of this letter.

This may be fruitless, it may be useless, it may be presumptions, it may be an imposition and yet, so I have written and will send it on nevertheless.

Give my love to your dear wife, please.

Sincerely and with deep regard,
Georgia D. Johnson
Georgia Douglas Johnson

enc.

[Enclosure]

THE MAN TO BE

I ride a-tilt because
Life charges through my veins -
Mixed forces guide the reins
And I must on.

Astride the universe
I go, nor pause, nor rest,
With sharp swords at my breast
To lean upon.

These fierce contending bloods
Churn in the depths of me,
Merged in a mighty sea,
They urge me on.

O white men, black and red,
Look through God's lens and see
This fused intensity -
The man to be,
Your son!

27-17A-62

Georgia Douglas Johnson
Box 6435, Washington, 9, D.C.

May 31, 1955

Miss Georgia Douglas Johnson
Halfway House
1461 S Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Georgia Johnson:

I have your letter of May 12th.

I always find your poems good, clear and inspiring, and only wish that I had some way to get them in print, but the opportunity for public expression today is for everyone very, very difficult.

Shirley and I attended the annual cermmonial of the National Institute of Arts and Letters. It was disappointing. The chief speaker, Eelco N. Van Kleffens, whose subject was "The Spoken Word", said absolutely nothing.

I therefore can give you no advice except to keep on writing, and that, of course, you will do because you have to.

Shirley joins me in best regards.

Yours with love,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

27-170-63

Georgia Douglas Johnson

Halfway House

1461 S Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

August 2, 1955

Dear Dr. Dubois:

I was reading over the jacket and YOUR ADVANCED WORD ON BRONZE the other day and was again filled with gratitude to you for your generous and high praise of my efforts. Have always considered myself one with the tenth leper who returned.

42-1A-100

When I came to Washington was so impressed with the great fortune of having the fascilities of the storehouse at my disposal, that I wrote at once a letter of thanks to the giver - Carnegie.

In Atlanta many years ago, you were unaware as it were, of my individual existance as I had in no way impressed you. It was then I decided to make myself worthy of your interest.

Time went on. And then the day arrived when you said to me, "I never come to Washington but that I phone you, at least." I had fulfilled one part of my ambition.

There was one thing I admire in your wife as a wife (aside from the gesture she made to me personally), it that she is more than a wife to you, and is to my mind, what a wife should be, a friend to her husband. For you, I have held the hope that the world would see your full significance this side of the granite block.

Have always agreed with the writer who said, "He is a great man, therefore . . . :" not, "He is a great man, but . . . :", showing the liberality that should be vouchsafed the genius.

Ever so often I feel like giving thanks, not only to the MAKER OF THE UNIVERSE but to the friends to whom I can say, "Through you the rose is red, through you the sky is blue."

Very sincerely,
G. D. Johnson
Georgia Douglas Johnson

42-1A-101

[1955?]
[Johnson, G]

3–45 Thurs A.M.
Jan 23—

Dear Dr Dubois!

Just writing to
say I thank you for the suggestion to—
two man years ago that I read Palgrave's
Vesper I

I have just read poems in NY Times.

I see you again what fine warm days
to our sense of values & beauty.

"To an Artist, Thou Art — the days — Pg 2
the alikeness. Then —
once I would not have understood
peace & inspiration the day for practising —

I have given — much heartening —

My best love to you [illegible] &
loving wife —

Georgia Johnson

27-10-2

41-19E-13

66 Hancock Street
Brooklyn N.Y.
February 22 1955.

Dr. W.E.Burghartd Du Boid
23 West 26
New York City N.Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

I owe you so much in education and understanding of things which affect me and my group, that I was glad to learn of your birthdate through the columns of The National Guardian. I was indeed glad to know this since I could acceptably chose the occasion to write my thanks and to wish you many happy returns of the day.

All too often contributions to the welfare of the Negro and to mankind generally go unnoticed and unrewarded. Those who benefit seldom return to give thanks either through selfishness or a lacking of decency to admit the gain received. To the Negro I believe it may be said that if kept informed by those who essay to lead him, he will show his gratitude.

Your writings, most of which I have read and re-read should be in the hands of every Negro. Some way, for example of issuing paper bound volumes at minimum cost, would it seems to me arouse intense interest and reward. Pictorially illustrated to catch the eye, I am sure your works would help toward a more profound interest on the part of the Negro than the comics which now monoplise his attention. I do hope some way can be found to do this, both for my group and the preparation which it would give to them for the Great New Day a-Dawning.

My sincerest wish is that you may long be spared to continue in good health and that many more years be given you to add to the notable contributions you have made to the bringing in of a new day for the Negro and for all mankind.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas S. Jones

Thomas S.Jones.

[Kahn]

COPY

W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, N.Y.

May 10, 1955

Cppies sent to:
Albert Kahn, Rockwell Kent, Rev. Fritchman, Shirley Graham, Dr. Robert M. Lovett,
John McManus, Scott Nearing, Karen Morley, Anton Refregier,
Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes Holland Roberts

The American members of the World Peace Council are suggesting to the Council, which meets at Helsinki, Finland, June 22-29, 1955, the names of Americans interested in Peace who would be willing to accept membership on the Council if elected.

Such membership involves no especial duties but indicates that the person so elected is interested in world peace and active in its furtherance.

I would be very glad if you would indicate to me at your earliest convenience your attitude toward this nomination.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

ALBERT E. KAHN

GLENGARY ROAD
CROTON-ON-HUDSON, N.Y.

May 12, 1955

Dr. W.E.B.Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York City 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

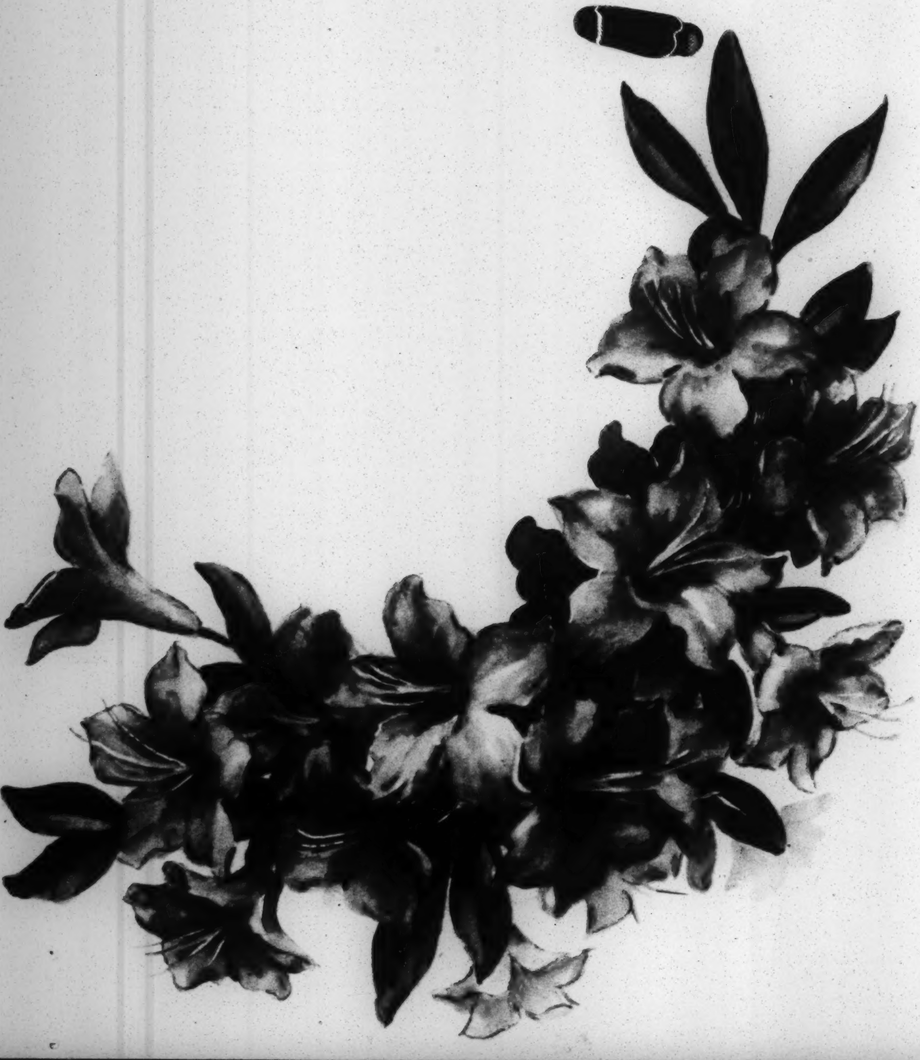
Needless to say, I would be honored to have my name submitted as one of those Americans nominated for membership on the World Peace Council at the Council's deliberations at Helsinki, Finland, June 22-29,1955.

Sincerely,

Albert E Kahn

27-14-40

27-10-54



20

Dear Dr. Du Bois

Count your years by all the folks
Who like you more each day,
And by the many worth-while things
They wish you on life's way...

Count them by your many friends,
And as each birthday nears,
Remember it's Your Own Dear Self
That counts, and not the years!

For Auld Lang Syne
Lottie Jarvis

2/23/55

(over)

491 East 165th St
Bronx 56, N.Y.

Dear Dr Du Bois:

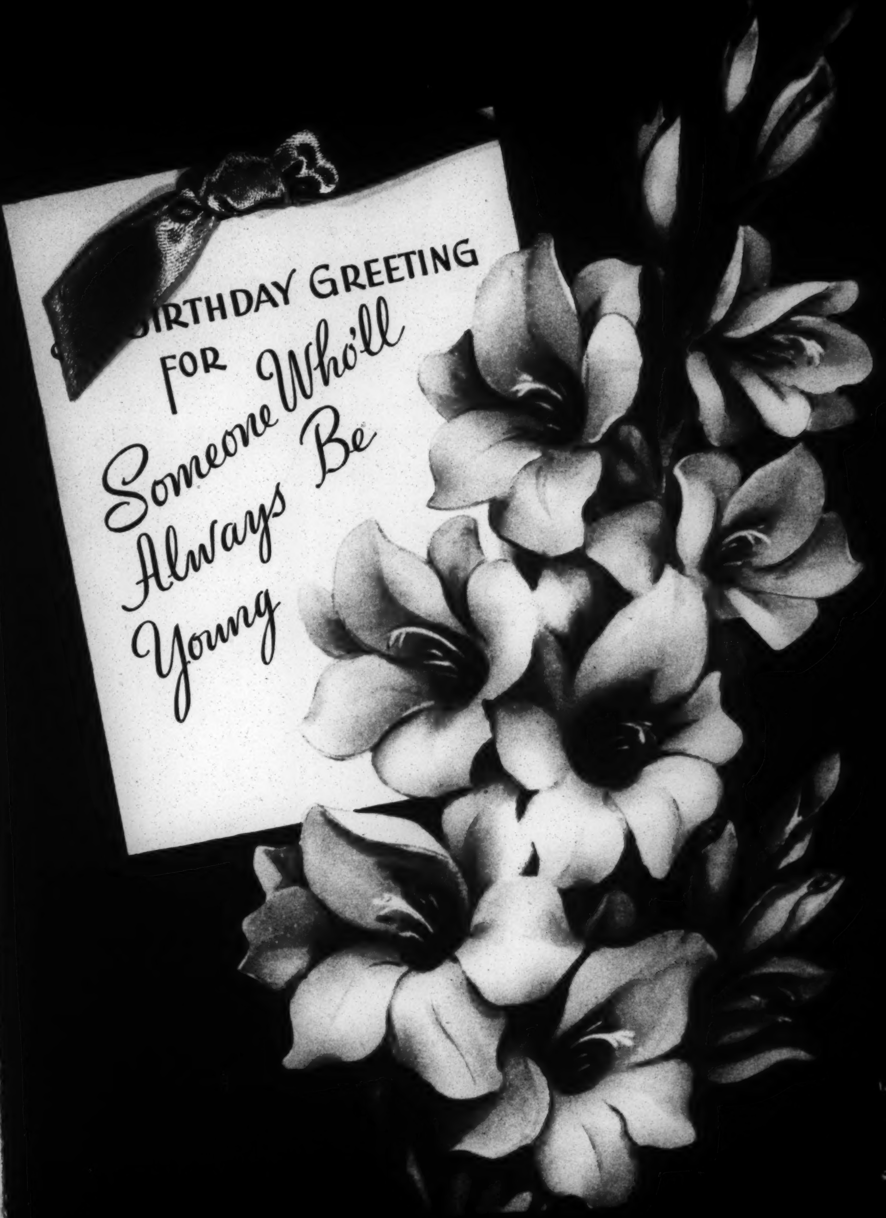
My cousin addressed this card to you before her death, intending to present it to you with the gift which is in this package.

Your recently renewed friendship was a great source of satisfaction to her.

Sincerely,

Charlotte J. Keller
(Mrs)

"A Birthday Card of Character"
DESIGNED BY A MEMBER OF
THE RUST CRAFT ARTISTS' GUILD
25BG 1433
COPYRIGHT
RUST CRAFT BOSTON



BIRTHDAY GREETING
FOR
Someone Who'll
Always Be
Young

March 25, 1955

Mrs. Charlotte J. Keller
491 East 165 Street
Bronx 56, N.Y.

My dear Mrs. Keller:

I have received the pen which Lottie wanted me to have. It was a very touching gift.

I am so glad that we had an opportunity to see her before she died, but also I am sorry that in the rush of my work I waited so long before looking her up.

Thank you for your interest.

Shirley joins me in best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-53

AUSABLE FORKS
NEW YORK

May 12, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th. Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In Stockholm, in 1950, I was elected to the World Peace Council. At the convention of the first following Congress, that of Sheffield and Warsaw, I was removed from the Council by action of the American delegation. That was a repudiation which I have accepted as final. So, although I will continue to be passionately "interested in peace", I would not accept membership on the Peace Council.

Faithfully yours,

Rockwell Kent

RK/sj Rockwell Kent

Yes

27-14-3

May 16, 1955

Mr. Rockwell Kent
Ausable Forks
New York

My dear Mr. Kent:

I am terribly sorry about your decision and am afraid that you, like myself, being terribly stubborn about some things, might not be willing to change. Yet let me call this to your attention.

The whole thing at Warsaw was pretty well mixed up, and you were not put off, you were left off because of the rather queer representation that we had there and because the foreign executive had so little knowledge of our home affairs.

Certainly now all of us who have tried to take this matter in hand and give it some direction are terribly anxious to have your name, particularly since, as you say, you are so interested in Peace. We do this just because we want to avoid in the future any such contretemps as took place at Warsaw, and was threatened at Vienna.

Please come along and help us. We have terribly few coworkers.

Albert Kahn has consented to join us; also Scott Nearing, Kenneth Ripley Forbes, Shirley Graham, and we are expecting two more.

Do think this over.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

P.S. I was delighted to see the TIMES could not avoid two fairly decent reviews of your biography. The light is surely breaking.

27-11-4

AUSABLE FORKS
NEW YORK

May 20, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th. Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Before I could answer your letter of the 16th. I received a phone call from Albert Kahn, and I asked him to convey to you what I am here writing: That I will accept the nomination to be a member of the Peace Council. My only regret will be that I live too far from New York to be of much service.

I received an interesting light on how reviews are managed: George Biddle, at his request, was assigned to review my book for the Herald Tribune. His review was received, pigeon-holed and, though paid for, eventually rejected. It was found to be an enthusiastic review and was held by Irita Van Doren to be not sufficiently "objective" about a "controversial figure." I am wondering if Philbrick will be assigned to do it.

With best wishes,

Faithfully yours,

Rockwell Kent

RK/sj

Rockwell Kent

27-17A-66

VALLEY FORGE
CONTENT

ROCKWELL KENT
AUSABLE FORKS
NEW YORK

December 3, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th. Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have read your letter to Dr. Roberts with great interest but, frankly, I don't see that anything would be gained by your plan of registration, and definitely believe that our entire efficacy as American exponents of peace would be destroyed. We are not the agents of any foreign power and, to be effective in America, we must never be so branded. The Geneva spirit has made a great impact on the American people. That spirit found expression in the words of our President. It is, therefore, as "agents" of the American Government that Americans should take action toward the furtherance of peace. The seeds of hope that have been planted should be nurtured by ourselves; and such distrust of foreign motives has been implanted in our people that an American peace movement could only be blighted by such "foreign agents" as, under your plan, we might tentatively have to declare ourselves to be. Assuming that we would be required to register --and I must assume this--the stigma of such registration would become attached to us and would endure, I fear, long after its possible removal by our courts.

27-12-4

It seems to me that it is mainly as American correspondents that we members of the World Peace Council can at present function and that our position in the American peace movement as it now exists in scattered embryo--or as it might in time become crystallized--would be diminished rather than enhanced by our World Peace Council membership. That the World Peace Council is not a "foreign power" in the sense that the term "foreign power" is intended is, of course, quite true. But the contrary judgment has been too firmly implanted in our people's minds to be neglected.

To put my objections to your plan more concisely, I believe that the tentative acceptance of the foreign agent status would automatically limit the American branch of the world peace movement to little more than the dozen or so American members of the World Council. We would become a little private club.

I have said, with Eisenhower's words in mind, that the peace movement in America should be an agency of the American Government. The truth is--and it is particularly applicable in this approaching year--that the American Government should be made by the American

over

people to be an agency of the people's will for peace. I believe that it is in that direction that we can be most helpful and toward that end that we should at the moment direct our thoughts and energies. Given an organized American peace movement backed by American labor--and Reuther's fairly recent statements make this not too fatuous a hope--, backed by the church groups, backed by those powers in America that must have stiffened Eisenhower for his utterances on peace, and backed, of course, by overwhelming numbers of our people, the time will be ripe to reach our hands out to the peoples of the world. It is this movement that, it seems to me, we've got to join and help. It is in America that world peace is to be won. It can be won on next Election Day.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Roberts and to Albert Kahn. — and to Howard Fast and Dr. Kingsbury.

With warm personal regards, I am,

Faithfully yours,

Rockwell Kent

Rockwell Kent

27-12-5

AUSABLE FORKS
NEW YORK

December 23, 1955

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Having learned from Mr. Darr that a meeting of members of the World Peace Council is scheduled for your house on the 29th. of December, I have had to write him my regret at the impossibility of my attending a meeting at that time. I am now writing to my prospective hosts, you and Shirley, to thank you for your proferred hospitality, to ask you to convey my greetings to your guests that afternoon and to express my hope that your deliberations will arrive at some program of activity that may enable us to be of help in making the coming new year one of "Peace on earth, Good will toward men."

I mentioned, in writing to John Darr, that I had a plan that I wanted to discuss with you members of the Peace Council but one which I would not like to commit to writing. I had hoped at that time to be able to attend the meeting, or at any rate to have seen Albert Kahn and communicated my idea to him. As things now stand I will have, for the time being, to keep my plan to myself. But since our studied abstinence from any direct participation in it is essential to the plan no harm is done. I merely wanted to tell you--with, I admit, a certain satisfaction--what I am trying to get others with unsullied rightist reputations to promote;and to report to you what progress I have made.

I was sorry to have to write in disagreement of your own proposal, but I feel strongly that we are in no position to function as even godparents of an effective national movement in behalf of peace.

To you and Shirley go our warmest good wishes in this season of hope. May the coming year be one of the most fruitful and happy of your lives.

Faithfully yours,

Rockwell Kent

Rockwell Kent

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

27-12-1

{Kent}

[1955]

INDIVIDUAL LETTERS TYPED INDIVIDUALLY TO:

Rockwell Kent; Scott Nearing; Robert Morss Lovett; Fred Stover

My dear [illegible]:

I am so glad you have consented to let us present your name for the World Peace Council at Helsinki.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

27-14-21

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

January 6, 1955

Mr. C. L. Collymore
Kenya Committee
86 Rochester Row
London, S.W.I.
England

My dear Mr. Collymore:

I received a circular letter from you May 17th, 1954. I am writing and speaking now and then, and often mention the situation in Kenya.

I shall be very glad to have any facts concerning the latest developments which you are publishing.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-6-18

to: John Kingsbury
Dr C. Padone
Fred Stover

Also to: Rev. Massie Kennard
Mr. Ernest De Maio

W. E. B. DU BOIS
23 WEST 26TH STREET
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

May 2, 1955

Copy

27-14-22

You are a member of the World Peace Council, along with John Darr, Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, Howard Fast, Dr. C. Paolone, Paul Robeson, Rev. Willard Uphaus and Fred Stover.

At the meeting to be held at Helsinki in June American members of the Council will be re-elected.

At the suggestion of the New York members we are writing to ask if you would be willing to be re-elected to serve on the Council for the ensuing year.

I shall be very glad to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

JOHN A. KINGSBURY
"LAVORIKA"
SHADY, N. Y.

May 4, 1955

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am honored to learn that the New York members of the World Peace Council would like to submit my name for re-election to the Council for the ensuing year.

I shall, of course, consider it a privilege to serve on the Council for the ensuing year, if elected.

Sincerely yours,
John A Kingsbury

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th St.
New York 10, N.Y.

P.S. Permit me to congratulate you on your excellent article "The World Peace Movement" in the May issue of New World Review. How completely & effectively you covered the movement – except for the Peking Preparatory Conference!

Mabel joins in warm regards to you & Shirley Jack

27-14-39

JOHN A. KINGSBURY
"Lavorika"
SHADY, N. Y.

December 3, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter of November 29th, addressed to Holland Roberts, concerning the interesting proposal to organize a Branch of the World Peace Council in the U.S.A.

Since you mentioned this proposal to me recently, I have given it considerable thought, and I must say I think it is an excellent idea. As a U.S.A. member of the World Peace Council, I would of course be glad to join with you and other members. However, I feel I should consult Mr. Morford and my other Board members of the National Council as timing is probably important for me since the case S.A.C.B. against the Council and its officers is still pending.

I shall be glad to be kept advised concerning the reactions you get to your proposal from other members of the World Peace Council.

Sincerely yours,

John A Kingsbury

John A. Kingsbury

JAK/sd

27-12-11

[1955]

Dear Comrade, –

Across the Pacific Ocean we congratulate your birthday. It means the new birth of World Peace & Emancipation.

In Japan cruel fascism became apparent. In schools teachers will not be able to say "Peace on earth!" or "Anti-militalism."

Great leader! DuBois!
Your life-work is Peace & Emancipation.
We, young Japanese people, are fighting for it with you.
Long live DuBois! Long live Peace!

Very Sincerely S. Kojima

27-10-48

日本郵便
60
AIR LETTER

Shirley and W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2. New York
U. S. A.

PAR AVION
航空

この郵便物には何物も封入又は添附できません

折込線

Sender: S. Kojima
688. 2 Chome
Itabashicho, Itabashiku
Tokyo, Japan

折込線

27-10-48

日本郵便
50
AIR LETTER

Shirley and W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2. New York
U. S. A.

PAR AVION
航　空

この郵便物には何物も封入又は添附できません

Sender: S. Kojima
688. 2 Chome
Itabashicho, Itabashiku
Tokyo, Japan

折込線

折込線

27-10-47

170 Hamilton Ave
Lodi Park
N.J. Dec 7, 1953.

Dr. Wm Du Boise,
23 West 26th St.
New York City, N.Y.

Kopecky

Dear Friend:

Enclosed is an article I wrote to the N.J. Herold in which I voiced my opinion on the outrageous behavior of the "notorious" Senator McCarthy.

I have before me, a letter of congratulation written me, by Ex-President Harry Truman. upon the subject in the letter which I sent to him.

The best Holiday

Greetings to you and yours.

Very Sincerely.

Lillian Ullmann Kopecky.

(Mrs Louis Kopecky)

MacArthur

P.O. Box 695
Tucson, Ariz
Dec 8th, 55

Dear Dr W.E.B. DuBois:

As a student of many, many years of both your writings and the General; I would appreciate to know, what facts you base your use of the words "so ruthless a general as Douglas MacArthur"

Thanking you, I am sincerely yours,

M. B. Korn

27-10-115

November issue "New World Review"

HIS TREATMENT OF THE BONUS MARCHERS IN DC

HSI RUNNING AWAY FROM THE PHILLIPINES

HIS CROSSING OF THE YALU

[Korn]

P. O. Box
695
Tucson Ariz

Dear Dr Du Bois:

~~It~~ was indeed very, very beautiful of you to write me.

Of course, the information given you, is all wrong.

But lets go back to the beautiful as this ~~Arizona~~ climate is -- that God has given me the blessing to enjoy - of course - you should be here also!

Remember - Your Great Book - Dusk of Dawn - ?

God is Love

Now who were his prophets ~~[illegible]~~! Oh yes - Mark was one - who was the other?

And remember that none of the Indian Princess was it! ER.

42-1A-97

Just think how the World has moved since then!

And God has given you the privilage to live and see it all!

Poor White – when he started to travel the world – he began to see how right you were in *those* years! And that must have hurt him badly

Now, you take good care of yourself in that cold – cold N Y climat.

America – and World Humanity needs the *real* Du Bois!

With great respect
Yours Cordialy
M. B. Korn

Never was – there a coloumn "As the Crow Flys". Rememer how you predicted the Nazi end – right in the beginning?!

Warroad, Minn
Feb. 25th 55

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.
New York, New York.
Dear Mr. DuBois:

Just a word to wish you many more happy Birthdays.

All good Americans love's you for what you have given us.

Best wishes
Always.
Art. J. Koznek

27-10-50

March 23, 1955

Mr. Art. J. Koznek
Warroad, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Koznek:

I appreciate your kind birthday greetings.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-51

[KWAKU]

re: Armattoe

W. Kwaku

Hamburg 39
Barmbekerst, 29
1st April

Dear Dr,

I had recently visited Frau Armattoe who told me of your readiness to help them of their difficulties. She had then given me you address so that I could write to you giving you some addresses in the Gold Coast to whom you may write to.

① Dr J. B Danquah
Wisdom Chambers
Accra,
Gold Coast

② Nana Ofori Attah II
Ahenfie
KIBI
Akim Abuakwa
Gold Coast

I think that these people can effect something through their influence to bring some relief to the poor family.

I am a student from the Gold Coast who is now studying in Germany. But I knew the Armattoes on the Gold Coast before coming over. I heard of you through the late Dr Armattoe who showed his signed copy of your

27-10-100

book celebrating your 83rd birthday.

I hope to write to you again, in the mean time the best of the Easter.

Yours sincerely

W Churchill

January 5, 1955

Mr. Al Greenbaum, President
Daniel Lapidus Civic Club
935 Eastern Parkway
Brooklyn 13, New York

Dear Mr. Greenbaum:

Answering your letter of December 29th may I say that I would be glad to speak for you early in February.

My charge will be $25, and you must furnish transportation for me from my home, 31 Grace Court, Brooklyn, to the meeting and return.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-15-14

January 10, 1955

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We have your letter and we are delighted that you have accepted our invitation.

If Friday, February 11th is acceptable to you, it will be my pleasure to call for you at 8:30PM, and of course to drive you back home.

We all look forward to your visit with us and we thank you very much.

27-15-13

Very respectfully yours,
Al Greenbaum
Al Greenbaum, President

Daniel Lapidus Civic Club
935 Eastern Parkway
Brooklyn 13, N. Y.

Dinner, [illegible]
Feb 12 "

January 14, 1955

Mr. Al Greenbaum, President
Daniel Lapidus Civic Club
935 Eastern Parkway
Brooklyn 13, New York

My dear Mr. Greenbaum:

This is to confirm my promise to speak to you Friday, February 11th, on "The Contributions of Negroes to American Life."

I shall expect you to call for me at:

31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, 2, N.Y.

according to your promise.

Very sincerely yours,

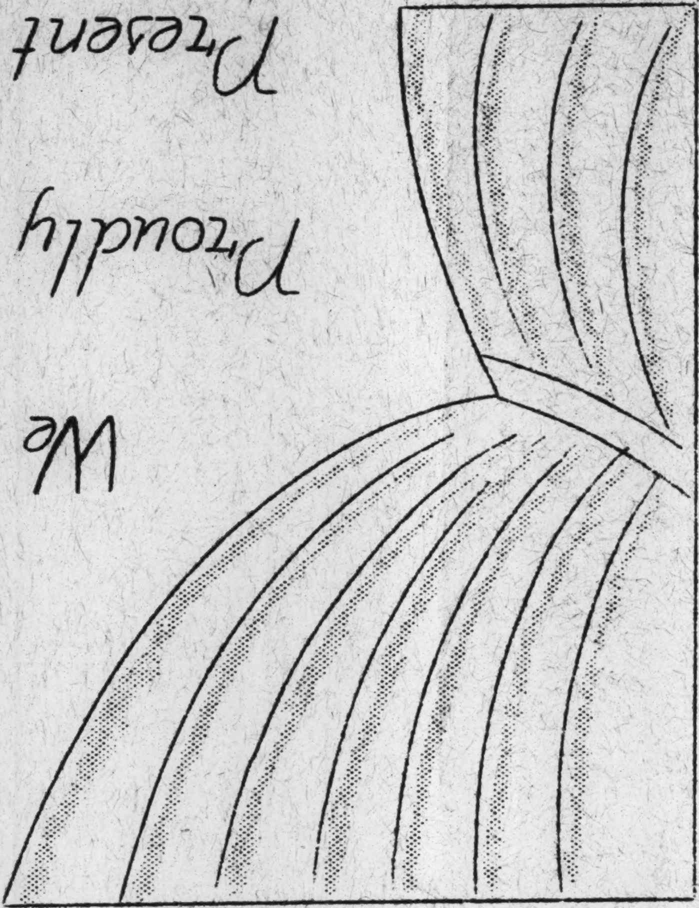
W.E.B. Du Bois

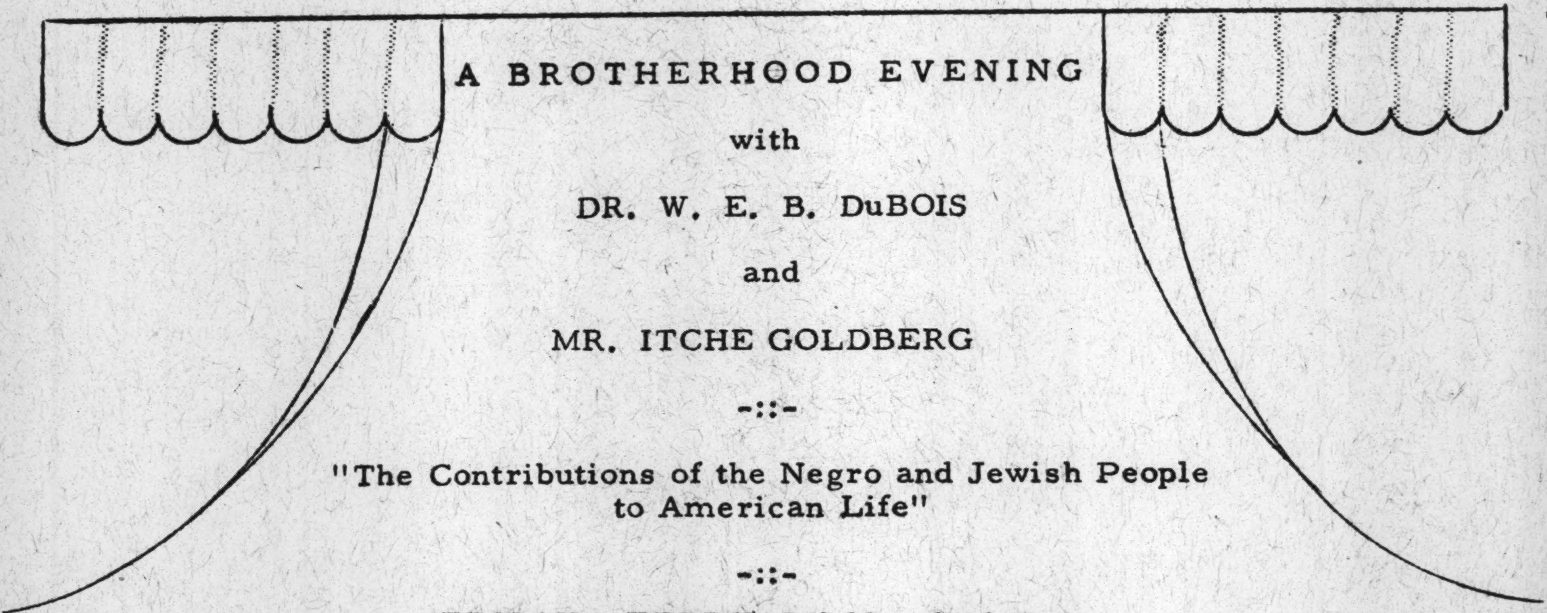
DB:lh

27-15-16

[1955]

We Proudly Present





A BROTHERHOOD EVENING

with

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS

and

MR. ITCHE GOLDBERG

-::-

"The Contributions of the Negro and Jewish People
to American Life"

-::-

FRIDAY - FEBRUARY 11 - 8:30 P. M.
935 Eastern Parkway

ALL WELCOME

ADMISSION FREE

This invitation comes to you from
The Daniel Lapidus Civic Club

ala-1:cio

Noel Parrish N°3

Ans Sept 22 '55

Bard College
Annandale-on-Hudson
September 1955

Dear Dr. Dubois,

Earlier this month I started my freshman year at Bard College, upstate New York. I am majoring in Art (Painting), and History, with hopes of eventually placing my emphasis on the ancient orient and Africa. You have made us aware of the hoary, fruitful and varied civilizations sired by Africa. Ghana, Mandingo, the others, have long been denied their chapters in the historical chronicles of the west. The day grows near that will see the African emerge from the obscure corner in which he was thrust by the might of Europaen-American imperialism acting on a group inferiority complex that goes under the heading of racial prejudice.

It is not too unlikely that I may decide to apply my meagre painting craft in effecting that greater degree of rational thought in western minds about other peoples that is essential to a harmonious world.

I am taking a course entitled "The Development of American Thought". In it, we trace the evolution of intellectual history in the United States from earliest colonial times to the Civil War. As a term paper, I intend to make a survey of the patterns of thought in American intellectual circles from the middle 1600's to the 1800's on the theory of "race", with particular emphasis placed on ideas circulating around at one time or another about the colored peoples.

The limited time that I have to prepare this paper will, of necessity, confine the bounds of my research and the authority of my conclusions. However, it may serve as a beginning, from which more adequate studies may be undertaken in the future. You are certainly a most reliable person to consult on source material of the nature I am after so I am writing you in the hope that you may find in one of your few spare moments the patience to jot down a few authors whose books may serve my limited objectives.

My appreciation and thanks for your kindly interest in this matter. I am,

Respectfully yours,

Bosley Latimer

Bosley Latimer

P.S.

Please convey my fondest "Hello" to Mrs. Dubois.

Bosley

May 2, 1955

Miss Betty Millard
Latin American Research Bureau
799 Broadway, Room 636
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Miss Millard,

Nothing ever gets really lost in this office, as you see by the enclosed clippings.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-11-17

May 31, 1955

Miss Betty Millard
Latin America Today
Room 636
799 Broadway
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Betty Millard:

My article on Haiti has been turned down by the NATIONAL GUARDIAN and the MONTHLY REVIEW.

You can have it if you still want it, and may use such parts of it as you wish.

It is 18 typewritten pages long, and as I told you before, I am sure it is too long for LATIN AMERICA.

Call me. MU 3--3855.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

41-16-21

LATIN AMERICAN RESEARCH BUREAU
ROOM 636
799 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

263

June 7, 1955

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I realize now what didn't occur to me before in connection with your article--that there are some articles that are just not cuttable. And this is the case with the present piece by W.E.B. Du Bois. It has so much your special flavor that to cut it down by more than half--which is what we would have to do--would really mean to cut the heart out of it and it would just not be you any more.

I feel very very sad to have to return it. If you were just any ordinary writer we would slice away with joy. But you are you.

With love,
gratitude,
& regrets,

Betty Millard

LAVORO
SETTIMANALE DELLA C.G.I.L.

Roma, 16 marzo 1955

VIA LUCULLO, 6 - TEL. 45.973

Cari amici,

il nostro giornale, organo settimanale della C.G.I.L. ha iniziato da circa due mesi una grande campagna in difesa della pace, con la denuncia dei crimini nazisti durante l'ultimo conflitto e del pericolo di una guerra atomica.

Essendo nostro intenzione continuare nella campagna vi saremmo grati se voleste assicurarci la vostra collaborazione inviandoci tutto il materiale di documentazione di cui potete disporre (libri, pubblicazioni, riviste, documenti fotografici, filmine, ecc.).

27-10-59

Naturalmente vi assicuriamo la perfetta conservazione del materiale e la sollecita restituzione non appena utilizzato.

Siamo certi di poter contare sul vostro aiuto e in attesa di una vostra cortese conferma vi salutiamo cordialmente.

LA SEGRETERIA DI REDAZIONE
L. Cristina

May 31, 1955

M. L. Crishima
LAVORO
Via Lucullo, 6
Rome, Italy

My dear Sir:

I am sending you herewith copies of two of my books in which I defend Peace: COLOR AND DEMOCRACY, published in 1945, and IN BATTLE FOR PEACE, published in 1952.

I hope they will reach you safely. If they do not, please let me know.

27-10-60

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

June 9, 1955

Miss Elizabeth Lawson
232 East 18th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Miss Lawson:

My secretary, Lillian Hyman, is going on vacation and I need someone to help me finish copying the manuscript of a book. It is a matter of straight copying from manuscript, with no research or editing.

Can you do this and would you have the time? It would probably take a couple of weeks.

Kindly call in person or on the phone. My phone number is: MU-3--3855.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-54

May 18, 1955

Mr. Waldo Gifford Leland
American Council of Learned Societies
1219 Sixteenth St., N.W.
Washington, 6, D.C.

My dear Mr. Leland:

Thank you very much for your article on the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

I shall treasure it among my mementoes.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-58

With the compliments and cordial regards of
Waldo Gifford Leland

Du Bois
pg
17

(Reprinted from THE AMERICAN ARCHIVIST, Volume XVIII, Number 1, January, 1955)

The Creation of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library: A Personal Narrative[1]

By WALDO GIFFORD LELAND
Director Emeritus, American Council of Learned Societies

ON December 11, 1938, the readers of the Sunday newspapers learned that on the previous day President Franklin D. Roosevelt had announced to a party of 18 persons assembled at luncheon in the White House a long-cherished plan to present to the United States his already vast accumulation of correspondence and other papers, documents, books, pamphlets, pictures, and objects of personal or historic interest. He proposed to place these collections in a building which should be erected at private cost, on a plot of land donated to the United States from the estate then owned by his mother, on the Albany Post Road about 5 miles north of Poughkeepsie, N. Y. At the same time he announced his expectation that the rest of the hundred acres or more between the Post Road and the Hudson River, on which the family residence was situated, would, as he expressed it, "eventually go to the Federal Government to be maintained for the benefit of the public." Both the intention and the expectation have been realized.

The luncheon guests included, in addition to Judge Samuel I. Rosenman and Mr. Frank C. Walker, university presidents Edmund E. Day and Frank P. Graham; university professors, past or present, William E. Dodd, Frederic L. Paxson, Helen Taft Manning, Charles A. Beard, Felix Frankfurter, and Samuel Eliot Morison; librarians Randolph G. Adams and Julian P. Boyd; the Archivist of the United States, Robert D. W. Connor; the New York State Historian, Alexander C. Flick; and Archibald MacLeish, Stuart Chase, Ernest Lindley, and Marguerite Wells, the last being president of the League of Women Voters.

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[1] This paper is based upon materials in the author's file, kept as chairman of the Executive Committee, which will be transferred to the National Archives in due time, and in a special file in the office of the Archivist of the United States. Included in these files are such documents as correspondence of members of the Executive Committee, lists of members of committees, lists of guarantors of the cost of building the library, surveys of materials in the White House, memoranda by the President, incorporation and bylaws of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Inc., audit of receipts and expenditures of the corporation, transcripts of addresses at the cornerstone laying, November 19, 1939, and at the dinner of February 4, 1939, drafts of legislation, newspaper clippings, press releases, and the like.

"The Story of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library" by Robert D. W. Connor printed in *American Archivist,* 3:81-92 (Apr. 1940), contains supplemental information and appraisal. The article by Herman Kahn, Director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, on "Research Materials at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library" in *American Archivist,* 12:149-161 (Apr. 1954), discusses the justification of the library project and describes the special and unusual nature of much of the material. It supplements in an important way the present article.

Of these, Judge Rosenman, Frank Walker, and Robert Connor were to have responsible parts in carrying out the undertaking. The first, closely associated with Roosevelt for many years and editor of the President's official papers, was said by the latter to be more familiar than anyone else with his collections; the second, Frank Walker, lawyer, corporation director, university trustee, former treasurer of the Democratic National Committee and later to be its chairman as well as Postmaster General, was to perform the task of securing the necessary funds; while the third, Robert Connor, was eventually to have general responsibility for the custody and administration of the collections. The absence of any representative of the Library of Congress, however, seems extraordinary when one considers that the Library had long been the chief depository of the Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and many other presidential papers.

The ostensible purpose of the luncheon was to obtain the advice and approval of representative historians and other scholars respecting the President's proposal, and this advice was reported to be entirely favorable and the approval unanimous. (But had it been otherwise I do not think it would have made any difference.) The luncheon was followed by a special press conference in the White House study, where the President, seconded by Judge Rosenman and Professor Morison, further explained and commented on the plan.

"Some of the more politically-minded of the correspondents," as the *New York Times* described them (Dec. 11, 1938), asked the President how he came to decide upon the plan *at this time*; but, in the words of the *Times* report: "clearly sensing what was behind the question, Mr. Roosevelt laughed and replied with utter ease that he had been considering what to do with his collections for the last three or four years."

Perhaps this is a point at which a personal opinion may be expressed. I am convinced that in December 1938 the President fully expected to retire to Hyde Park at the close of his second term of office. There can be no doubt that he looked forward to such retirement with pleasure and even eagerness. I recall his saying to me that the happiest day of his life would be that on which he saw the Army trucks, loaded with his papers, leave the White House grounds bound for Hyde Park. There could be no doubt of his satisfaction in looking forward to installing himself in the library which he was planning, free to work on whatever interested him. He had the instincts and the active interests of the historian, as the earlier President Roosevelt had had, and he longed to indulge them; and he had the instincts of the collector, as well. I also recall, with amusement, that in July 1940, on the eve of the Democratic National Convention, the President's mother said to me, in the family home at Hyde Park, "You know, I think he's going to come up here and settle down next winter." When I said that it would be fine if he could do so, she replied "Yes; he ought to." I reported this conversation to her brother, Frederick Delano, who said, "She doesn't know a thing about what he's going to do, any more than the rest of us."

But to return to December 11, 1938. As I read the newspaper reports I remembered that a few weeks earlier my long-time friend Sam Morison had told me that the President wanted to house all his papers and related materials in a special building to be constructed for that purpose on his estate at Hyde Park, and had asked me what I thought of the idea. I replied that I didn't think much of it. If the Library of Congress was good enough for the papers of Washington and Jefferson and Jackson, wasn't it good enough for those of Franklin D. Roosevelt? Sam had said that he was of similar mind, and so I was surprised to learn that he had become an advocate of the plan. I was much more surprised, a day or two later, to find that I too was not only advocating the project but was actively engaged in efforts to bring about its realization.

This is how that change came about. On Monday, December 12, Bob Connor came to my office and informed me that the President hoped I would agree to be chairman of a small "Executive Committee" to plan the construction and organization of the proposed depository. Since my acquaintance with Mr. Roosevelt had been limited to two or three brief sessions of the Naval History Society, which had been held in his office some 20 years before, while he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy, I did not suppose that the idea of my serving in the suggested capacity had originated with *him*. I was not surprised later to learn that Morison and Connor were responsible for it.

I confess that I was at a loss for a reply, or rather as to how I could tactfully decline a request from the President of the United States.

"But Robert," I said, "you know I am a Republican."

"I know that," he replied, "and that's all to the good."

"Furthermore," I continued, "I don't think that I approve the idea anyhow."

His reply was that that was still better. A Republican who didn't think he approved of the plan was ideal, but he was sure that I would approve of it after longer consideration.

"And still further," I said, "I have to go to Europe in April for 2 months; and in August I am to go to South America for 4 months."

That was more difficult for him to talk down, but he assured me that I would probably get the project well under way before leaving for Europe and that he himself would carry on for me during my absence.

So I yielded my points, except on being a Republican.

The next day came a note from the President asking me to serve as chairman of the Executive Committee and to attend a luncheon at the White House with the other members of the committee on the following Saturday.

These other members, in addition to Bob Connor and Sam Morison, were Randolph G. Adams, librarian of the William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan; Judge Charles E. Clark, just then in transition from the deanship of the Yale University Law School to the bench of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals; Helen Taft Manning, dean of Bryn Mawr College; and Stuart A. Rice, on leave from the University of Pennsylvania to serve as chairman of the Central Statistical Board.

It was necessary to prepare at once for the first meeting of the committee, which must be held before our luncheon conference with the President, barely 4 days later. A rapid analysis of the problem was in order; and this indicated that we must consider such matters as the functions and responsibilities of the committee, the relation of the proposed establishment to the Federal Government together with such new legislation as might be necessary, the various kinds and quantities of materials to be housed in the depository, their space requirements in architectural and structural terms, and the probable cost of the building and its equipment.

The Executive Committee held its first meeting in the office of the Archivist of the United States on December 17, with all members present except Judge Clark, who had to be in New Orleans. We had much talk about the recommendations we should make to the President at luncheon and especially about the questions we should put to him. We agreed that our functions were advisory and that we should have no responsibility for raising funds, although we would be ready with moral support and arguments in favor of the plan and with suggestions as to likely "prospects" and the best approach to them, especially through academic and scholarly circles.

I suggested that the committee itself might have various expenses and I agreed to seek a small fund to meet them. Thanks to the sympathetic interest of President Keppel of the Carnegie Corporation, a grant of $1,500 was made available for our needs; but we were not, I am glad to say, an expensive committee. I was able to refund to the Carnegie Corporation something like $800 of its subsidy.

It was clear that new legislation would have to be enacted in order to enable the Government to accept the gifts of collections, land, and building and to provide for their administration. Dr. Connor undertook to see that this was drafted.

We had only vague ideas as to the nature and bulk of the various collections of papers, books, and objects; and we agreed that a rapid survey of them must be made at once by persons of special competence. Especially we needed an expert of the highest qualifications for advice on questions of design, construction, and equipment. Our choice inevitably was of Louis A. Simon, supervising architect of the Treasury Department, who had had responsibility for the magnificent National Archives Building, in which we were meeting.

These and other matters occupied our time and attention until the hour for luncheon at the White House. There we were joined by Judge Rosenman, Mr. Walker, and — as a surprise — Vice President Garner, who had returned from his long vacation or "walk-out" and who was meeting the President for the first time in several months.

We sat in our places at the round table, waiting for the President to arrive. In a moment he was wheeled down the hall and up to his seat in our midst. When he spied the Vice President there ensued a boisterous greeting with back-slapping and jovial quips. After lifting himself by his arms into his chair at the table, the President announced that his first Christmas present had been received; and as he spoke it was brought in for us to see. It was a mounted deer's head, the gift of the Vice President. Connor asked the latter if it was the head of the tame deer that he was reported to have shot by mistake but was positively assured it was not.

As chairman of the committee it was my duty to direct discussion to the problems which we had been considering and on which we needed the President's advice. He took special interest in describing the nature and variety of his collections, agreed that a survey should be made by specialists, and explained what he had in mind as to the building itself. This he wished to be in the form of an open square, of natural field stone, one story in height with a high-pitched roof, and in an architectural style that he termed Dutch colonial, referring to the recently constructed postoffice building at Rhinebeck, some 10 miles above Hyde Park, as an illustration. He was eager that ample provision should be made not only for his papers and books but for the display of a vast number of miscellaneous objects, such as pictures, ship models, and articles presented to him; and he wished to include special rooms for his naval collections and for those on the history of Dutchess County. Especially he expressed the hope that members of his administration would be led to add their own papers to his, in due time.

He asked us to complete the membership of a National Advisory Committee, of which the persons who had lunched with him a week earlier would be the nucleus.

I reported to the President that the Executive Committee unanimously recommended that the name of the establishment should be the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. At this he demurred; he would have preferred a name of topographical significance, and he did not wish the library to be a personal memorial. We supported our recommendations with realistic arguments; and in the end the President agreed, with apparent reluctance. After the luncheon our committee withdrew to the Cabinet Room, where we sat in the seats of the mighty and concluded our discussion.

The organizational setup of the operation quickly took shape. The Executive Committee, of 7 members, was to have general direction; the National Advisory Committee, of 30 members, historians and other scholars, was to supply a background of professional interest and competence and was to be relied upon for moral support and encouragement. A third committee, which already existed as a group and which we discreetly christened the Committee on Ways and Means, was made up of the 63 underwriters of the project, men of substance who had put up a collective guarantee of $450,000. (We were, however, careful that this evidence of Frank Walker's foresight should not receive publicity during the ensuing campaign for funds.)

The 30 members of the National Advisory Committee, each of whom was personally invited by the President to serve, included, besides those already mentioned as attending the luncheon of December 10, Guy Stanton Ford, president of the University of Minnesota; St. George L. Sioussat, chief of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress; Douglas S. Freeman; Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California; Edwin F. Gay, of the Huntington Library; Ralph H. Lutz, of Stanford University, director of the Hoover Library; Bessie L. Pierce, of the University of Chicago; Walter P. Webb, of the University of Texas; Monsignor Peter Guilday, of the Catholic University of America; Harry M. Lydenberg, director of the New York Public Library; William E. B. Du Bois of Atlanta University; Mildred Thompson, dean of Vassar College; Robert C. Binkley, of Western Reserve University; Allan Nevins, of Columbia University; and Lothrup C. Harper — together with Basil O'Connor, Judge Rosenman, and Frank Walker.

Equally important as the committees and necessary to the achievement of their purpose was an operating agency. This was created, under the membership-corporation law of New York, as the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Inc. The forehanded Frank Walker had already drafted a certificate of incorporation with a complete set of bylaws; and these the Executive Committee examined and approved. Three of us — Sam Morison, Randolph Adams, and I — joined with Mr. Walker and Basil O'Connor to become the first trustees of the corporation. The certificate of incorporation was filed on December 22, with the consent of the Department of Education of New York State and that of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the use of his name.

The declared purposes of the corporation were to construct and equip a building or buildings at Hyde Park, or elsewhere, either for the corporation or for the United States, for the housing and preservation of such historical materials as Franklin D. Roosevelt might give, bequeath, or transfer to the corporation or to the United States, as well as any other acceptable historical materials; and to provide for the custody and maintenance of such buildings and historical materials, making the latter available to students, scholars, historians, teachers, and others until ownership and control should be taken over by the United States. The corporation had power to solicit, accept, borrow, invest, and expend money, and to transfer property to the United States provided that adequate legislation should have been enacted for the acceptance of such property and for its permanent care and maintenance.

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Inc., was thus not only an operating agency for obtaining funds and constructing and equipping a building, but it was also a hedge against the failure of Congress (most unlikely in 1939) to enact the necessary enabling legislation. In the event of such failure, however, the corporation would have been obliged to seek endowment or other permanent funds for the perpetual maintenance of the establishment.

The committees and the corporation got to work at once, carrying on their various tasks simultaneously.

Before architectural sketches could be made it was necessary to undertake a rapid survey of the probable contents of the building, in order to determine the various kinds and quantities of equipment that would be needed, such as filing drawers and other containers, exhibit cases, and bookshelves, and to estimate the requirements of the materials and their containers in terms of floor and wall space as well as in terms of accommodations for staff, researchers, and the visiting public.

To start with we had only the President's statement given to the press on December 10, 1938, in which he had described, in summary fashion, the nature of his collections but had given no indication as to their volume. The relevant paragraphs of this statement are quoted here in order to indicate the state of our knowledge before the survey was made.

> Since 1910 — or in other words for a period of twenty-eight years — I have carefully preserved all of my correspondence, public papers, pamphlets, books, etc. This includes all incoming material and copies of practically all outgoing material. These years cover my service of nearly three years in the New York State Senate; seven and one-half years as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, including the World War period and two trips to Europe; my business and legal correspondence; much political material between 1920 and 1928, including my campaign for the Vice Presidency, the 1924 Convention, and the 1928 Convention; my campaign for Governor in 1928 and 1930; all of my personal papers as Governor of New York, 1929-33; the campaigns for the Presidency, 1932 and 1936; and all of my Presidential papers from March 4, 1933, to date. . . .
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> I have also two rather specialized collections which are of some definite historical value: a collection of paintings, drawings, prints, manuscript letters and documents, log-books, pamphlets and books relating to the American Navy from 1775 to date; and a smaller collection of similar material relating to the Hudson River, and especially Dutchess County and the town of Hyde

> Park. These collections would be placed in the proposed building, together with the public papers, etc.
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> I have also a very large number of books and pamphlets — far more than my children could possibly use — many of them inscribed by their authors to me. The bulk of these books would also be added to the contents of the building and, incidentally, they form the nucleus of a library relating to this period which would be available to students in the future.

The necessary surveys were undertaken at once, and the reports were communicated to the members of the Executive Committee on December 27. Fred W. Shipman of the National Archives, who appropriately was later appointed to be the first director of the library, surveyed the books and records in the White House and in the old State, War, and Navy Building, including Mrs. Roosevelt's file; he estimated a total volume of 6,117 linear feet or 4,774 cubic feet. In addition he reported 50 boxes of correspondence in Albany.

A special survey of oversize material suitable for flat filing was made by W. L. G. Joerg, then chief of the Division of Maps and Charts of the National Archives. This material consisted of Currier and Ives prints, prints picturing Revolutionary War personages, naval and nautical prints, engravings, and maps — occupying an estimated wall space of 1,000 square feet. It also included about 220 cubic feet of scrapbooks, photograph albums, clippings, pamphlets, and folio and other oversize volumes. If flat-filed, all this material would fill some 50 cases, occupying about 500 square feet of floor space.

The survey of museum objects was made by Laurence Vail Coleman, director of the American Association of Museums. He found 400 pictures, 37 ship models, and a vast number of smaller objects, such as gifts, "official tokens" and so forth. Dr. Coleman estimated that, if these items were compactly displayed, the equivalent of two rooms, 30 x 50 ft., divided into alcoves, would be necessary.

In addition to these surveys, Vernon D. Tate, chief of the Division of Photographic Archives and Research of the National Archives, provided a plan for a small photographic laboratory; and Arthur E. Kimberly of the National Archives submitted estimates of space necessary for cleaning and fumigating incoming material.

The surveys were limited to what was on hand and viewable, mostly in Washington. They could not include accurate estimates of materials located elsewhere, as for example in the Roosevelt mansion at Hyde Park, or in the town house in New York, or at Albany. They could only guess at probable increases, either by nat-

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ural accretion or by gift; and, above all, they did not even imagine that President Roosevelt's term of office might extend beyond January 1941. We had little idea then, in the closing days of 1938, of the vast expansion that the collections were to undergo or of the great crowds of visitors who were to put such a strain upon the accommodations for them; but we agreed that the utmost possible provision, within the limits of available funds, should be made for future growth.

Using the information thus gathered, Louis Simon was at work on the preliminary plans before the end of December. The external appearance of the building — the open square, the "Dutch colonial" style — had already been prescribed by the President. Now it was possible to block out the interior — the stack space, the exhibit rooms, the research room, and the President's own study. In all this planning the President took an active part.

On January 5, 1939, Mr. Simon brought tentative sketches to the White House offices, where the President, Dr. Connor, and I studied them with him. This was only the first of many such conferences, for the President was always happy to take up pencil and pad and sketch out what he had in mind. On a hot July afternoon, when I had been summoned to the White House and the President, after all, had been unable to get around to our business, General Watson confided to me: "The President's awfully sorry; he simply can't make it today, and he wants to know if you could come again tomorrow. I *know* he'd rather talk over the plans for that library than do anything else."

So the following afternoon I found the President in his office, sleeves rolled up, collar unbuttoned, and doors and windows wide open to let in all the heat there was.

"Well," he greeted me, "we spent a lot of money air-conditioning this place, but they made a lousy job of it."

"Mr. President," I said, "I always understood that you have to keep the doors and windows of an air-conditioned room *shut*, and here they are all *open*."

"Oh, I know all about that," he replied, "but it doesn't make a damn bit of difference here."

That, I think, was the time we discussed the question of air-conditioning the library and decided that we would be content to install the pipes and conduits and would leave the rest of the equipment to a later date. It was easy to believe, on that summer afternoon in Washington, that it must be always cool at Hyde Park on the banks of the Hudson.

Early in January 1939 Bob Connor and I were asked to lunch with the President at his desk in order to have more time to discuss plans and problems. It was an interesting experience. First the gadgets and oddities that covered most of his desk top had to be cleared away to make room for our plates. A huge food warmer was then rolled in, which the President opened, burning his fingers. The menu included baked grapefruit, mushrooms and muffins, and gingerbread with whipped cream. We talked as we ate, for we had much to discuss. Would Mrs. Roosevelt place her papers in the library? The President said, "My Missus seems interested; I think she'll go along; I'll ask her." So we agreed that we would invite her to go along; and, I am glad to say, she has.

What sort of containers should we use for the correspondence and other papers? We settled for the buckram-covered fiber boxes in use in the White House. We decided that no papers in the White House should be destroyed before their transfer to the library and their arrangement and examination there. This was a point of considerable importance, for it had been customary for Presidents (with the exception of Herbert Hoover) upon leaving the White House to destroy substantial quantities of papers as having little or no value. The President repeated his hope that members of the Cabinet would place their own papers, or at least the relevant ones, with his, in the library; but he hesitated to invite them to do so. It was understood that Dr. Connor should make the approaches to them in this matter, in his capacity as Archivist of the United States.

Finally we discussed the problem of exhibiting the museum objects — the pictures, the ship models, gifts to the President, objects associated with his life, and the thousands of little gadgets of which those on his desk were examples. This was a matter in which the President was especially interested. I recall that in a later conference I expressed the fear that we might be allotting too much space to the museum functions of the library. To this the President replied, "Well, you know, if people have to pay a quarter to get into the library they will want to see something interesting inside."

More than two million persons have paid their quarters, and they have certainly seen much that is interesting and some things that are strange as well.

Perhaps this is the appropriate place for diversionary comment on the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library as a museum. The visitor is immediately impressed and perhaps a little overcome by the great variety of objects on display and by the immense number of them. Gifts from the governments and peoples of all countries, many of them of great splendor and beauty, illustrate more vividly than written documents the central place that the President of the United States holds in the world of today. A big room in the basement is filled with every sort and description of the little things that are sent to the President by thousands of people. The room is appropriately called the "oddities room." Cigarette holders, donkeys, and figurines abound; and at the end of the room, facing you as you enter, is a heroic-size bust in *papier-maché* from a cartoon by Clifford Berryman — the head of Roosevelt, sphynx-like, with an 18-inch cigarette holder protruding from the mouth. The face seems to welcome you in jovial fashion to the exhibition of oddities and caricatures.

Nearby, in the "carriage room" are family vehicles, including a sleigh, said to have belonged once to Napoleon III, a family carriage of the tycoon era, and two iceboats; one of which the President sailed on the frozen Hudson in the winters of his youth. Part of the wall of the building had to be taken down to make possible the entrance of the other iceboat, a 48-footer that belonged to the President's uncle. It was with such objects in mind that Samuel Morison, in the address that he delivered at the library in 1941, on the occasion of its dedication, appealed to the friends and neighbors of the President not to donate their hair-trunks or similar family relics to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. I heard that the President was slightly irked by this admonition, but it had my complete approval. I understand that now the specially equipped Ford which the President drove has been added to the collections.

The museum objects are displayed in rotation, for it would be impossible to exhibit them all at the same time. They constitute a real problem and make the functioning of the library as a research center more difficult. But the entrance fees of the museum have contributed something like $425,000 after tax deduction to a special income account that is drawn upon heavily each year for the work of the library. On June 30, 1953, the balance of this account was $199,000, after expenditures during the fiscal year of $37,400.

The plans of the building were developed rapidly, and by February 4, 1939, Mr. Simon was able to exhibit, at the dinner which opened the campaign for funds, tentative sketches including the plot plan, the floor plans, the elevations and sections, and a perspective drawing showing the library as viewed from the direction of the Albany Post Road. I hope that some time we may have from Mr. Simon an architect's account of his labors and of the part that the President personally took in them.

While the President was interested in all details of landscaping, construction, and equipment, and had much special knowledge of such matters, I think that the design of his study was all his own. He contributed the Dutch tiles that frame the fireplace; he designed little shelves that can be pulled out from the walls; he selected the furniture. In July 1940 he showed the room with pride to Mrs. Leland and me and eagerly asked her what she thought of it.

As plans for construction took shape, it became possible to estimate costs. By the end of January these were placed at approximately $350,000, including equipment. In actual fact they were slightly over $367,000.

How was this money raised? Some of it began to come in as soon as the President announced his plan. The first donation, of a dollar, accompanied by a letter of December 11 to the President came from a member of Boy Scout Troop 326 of Brooklyn, who said that he had "at present a great many things which I may add to your collection." Other letters from enthusiastic admirers also enclosed dollar bills, which were returned to the donors with appreciative acknowledgement from Marvin McIntyre, secretary to the President, and with the suggestion that they be sent to Frank Walker.

In his press conference of December 10 the President explained that the proceeds from his published writings received by himself and Judge Rosenman would be contributed to the library fund, making two precampaign donations of $7,500 each.

It was the President's hope that the fund to be received would be made up largely of modest contributions. There was even talk of putting a ceiling of $1,000 on them, but I do not think that this was done. Nor did we wish to make any public appeal for subscriptions. Raising money was the first function of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Inc., and was the special task of the corporation's treasurer, Frank Walker. No one could have done it more tactfully or more successfully. It was agreed that the campaign should be opened with a dinner in Washington, attended by the President and by the members of the three committees. The corporation planned this affair and bore the expense of it. The dinner was held in the Carlton Hotel on February 4, 1939, with 55 persons seated about a horseshoe table. Since I was chairman of the Executive Committee it fell to me to preside and to serve as toastmaster. The speakers were Samuel Morison, Guy Stanton Ford, Basil O'Connor, Henry Morgenthau, Sr., and the President.

Professor Morison presented the historical background of the project, telling what had happened to the papers of earlier Presidents of the United States. This was a story of great interest and even exciting in spots, recounted with characteristic brilliance and humor. Professor Morison told how the Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Jackson papers had come to the Library of Congress; how papers of other Presidents had been scattered or destroyed; how those of the Adams's and of Presidents Hayes and Hoover were preserved in private or institutional libraries; and how those of Presidents Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, and Coolidge had come to the Library of Congress from their families, with restrictions on their use. In conclusion he said:

> Thus, at Hyde Park, if these plans, as we hope and believe, are successful, it will be the first time that the collections and manuscripts of a President of the United States have been kept together in their entirety, without anything lost or destroyed, for the use of the historians and for the use of the generations of Americans who are to come after us.

Guy Stanton Ford then spoke with feeling and eloquence of the significance of President Roosevelt's papers as a record and an illustration of the democratic process:

> It is my profound conviction that out of a library such as this, accumulated over the years by one who has been in the strategic position of the donor, will come a revelation of American life and thought, all the more valuable for these thousands and thousands of letters that come from people who unburden themselves about trivial matters; and that it will be, for the historians of the future, material out of which they will build a great, revealing picture of this Nation, which, suddenly, within the last few decades, has come to realize that youth has passed, that it has reached middle age, and that it faces problems that this democracy, on this continent, has not faced before.

Basil O'Connor followed with an appeal to those present to interest themselves actively in the realization of the plan. The project, he pointed out, would not be self-creating nor would it carry itself through automatically; "it calls for and needs money." He did not ask those present to turn themselves into "salesmen or agents," but he did ask for their moral support and their assistance in enlisting the interest of others.

Mr. Morgenthau, Sr., expressed his belief that there would be no difficulty in obtaining the necessary funds. He was sure that if the meaning of the plan was explained to the public they would rally to its support.

The President told, in an intimate way and in his happiest manner, of the beginnings and growth of his collections. He recalled that at the age of 20 he was elected librarian of the Hasty Pudding

Club at Harvard, and, having a small fund at his disposal, he sought the advice of a famous book dealer on Cornhill. The President continued:

> One of the first things that old man Chase said to me was, "Never destroy anything." Well, that has been thrown in my teeth by all the members of my family almost every week that has passed since that time. I have destroyed practically nothing. As a result, we have a mine for which future historians will curse me as well as praise me. It is a mine which will need to have the dross sifted from the gold. I would like to do it, but the historians tell me I am not capable of doing it. . . . It is a very conglomerate, hit-or-miss, all-over-the-place collection on every man, animal, subject, or material. But, after all, I believe it is going to form an interesting record of this particular quarter of a century . . . to which we belong.

At the close of the dinner the sketch plans of the library were exhibited, and the guests gathered about the President to examine them and to listen to Mr. Simon's explanations.

The active campaign opened up at once, but, though active, it was very quiet; it sought no publicity and received little. Frank Walker, who had been unable to attend the dinner of February 4, because of the death of a near relative, started on a trip west in March, to solicit funds in a number of centers. On behalf of the Executive Committee I wrote to all its members and to those of the Advisory Committee, to bespeak their cooperation and to tell them of Mr. Walker's desire to meet with persons in the academic world and to have their advice and suggestions. I also wrote, more specifically, to certain members of the Advisory Committee and other university persons in the regions which Mr. Walker was to visit, asking them to arrange for conferences with him. Several of the conferences were very successful. At the University of Chicago Bessie Pierce organized a conference that was attended by several members of the faculty, including Charles E. Merriam and Prof. (now Senator) Paul H. Douglas. In Minneapolis President Ford was exceedingly helpful and furnished Mr. Walker with amusing comments on conservative and other attitudes with respect to the project. In Seattle, in San Francisco, in Los Angeles, and elsewhere, university people were equally cooperative. Many members of the Advisory Committee in other regions sent useful suggestions; and in these and other ways, such as by personal contributions, the committee fully justified its existence.

The campaign was successful in that the total of the contributions amounted to $400,000. It was even more successful in that the contributions were made by some 28,000 persons.

The dinner of February 4 had been immediately preceded by the second and, as it turned out, the last full meeting of the Executive Committee. In this session several members of the Advisory Committee, who had come for the dinner, joined us and we had the benefit of their counsel. We reviewed the progress that had been achieved since December 17, examined the sketch plans, and discussed especially the drafted enabling legislation. Dr. Connor had been diligent to take this matter up with the Department of Justice, and a first draft of a joint resolution was ready by December 21, 1938, only 4 days after the first meeting of the Executive Committee. Amended drafts followed, and the President had suggestions of his own to make: he wished the library to be authorized to receive materials on loan, as well as to accept them by gift; he wanted the Treasury Department authorized to make its services available for the preparation of building plans, subject to reimbursement for the expense involved, but he insisted on a prior agreement with the Secretary of the Treasury that the reimbursement should not exceed $10,000; finally, since the legislation was to authorize the acceptance of the Roosevelt residence, subject to life tenancy by himself, he wished to have it provided that the life tenant should continue to pay local and State taxes.

The final draft of the joint resolution was introduced in the Senate and the House of Representative on April 19, 1939 (S. J. Res. 118; H. J. Res. 268) and passed the Senate on the following day. In the House the Committee on Library held a hearing on May 7; no witnesses were called, but supporting written statements by several members of the Executive and Advisory Committees were incorporated in the record. The House Committee reported favorably on May 10. Two months later the resolution passed the House by a partisan vote of 231 to 124, after a lively debate, and was sent back to the Senate with minor amendments. It was finally approved on July 18.

The legislation deals with both the library and the residence. With respect to the former it authorizes the Archivist of the United States (1) to accept title to the land to be used as the site of the library; (2) to permit the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Inc., to construct a building or buildings on the site, to be known as the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, and to landscape the grounds; (3) to accept for the library, as a gift, the historical materials donated by Franklin D. Roosevelt; and (4) to acquire other contemporary or relevant historical materials by gift, purchase, or loan.

The legislation also created a Board of Trustees consisting of the

Secretary of the Treasury and the Archivist, with the latter as chairman, and five other members appointed for life by the President. This board is authorized to accept gifts of personal property and to hold them, as trust funds, for the benefit of the library.

A significant clause provides that

> The faith of the United States is pledged . . . that the United States will provide such funds as may be necessary for the upkeep of the said Library and the administrative expenses and costs of operation thereof, including the preservation and care of historical material . . . so that the . . . Library shall be at all times properly maintained.

The care of the building and grounds, at first assigned to the Public Buildings Administration, was transferred in 1946 to the National Park Service, which also administers the Roosevelt mansion. The administration of the library itself is a duty of the Archivist of the United States, for the library is a division of the National Archives and Records Service.

As soon as the enabling legislation was approved, the President in a simple ceremony on July 24 transferred title to the site to the United States. On August 11 the Archivist authorized the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Inc., to proceed with the construction of the building, and on September 5 the corporation let the contract to John McShain. Ground was broken on September 14, and on November 19 the cornerstone was laid by the President. On July 4, 1940, less than 19 months after the President had announced his plans, the completed building was turned over to the Government by the corporation, and the task of the Executive Committee was ended. A year later, on June 30, 1941, after the corporation had landscaped the grounds and equipped the building; and after a considerable number of museum objects had been installed, the library was formally dedicated and the exhibit rooms were opened to the public.

The following years were years of war, and the small staff of the library was reduced. The President transferred substantial bodies of material from time to time and these had to be processed and arranged. He himself, during his brief sojourns at Hyde Park, visited the library and gave advice and made suggestions as to many details. Various Government agencies, and especially the White House, called for documents and information, and there was no possibility of opening the library for purposes of research until May 1, 1946, when the search room was opened, but with restricted access to papers.

The death of President Roosevelt on April 12, 1945, created a situation of much difficulty and urgency for the library. More than half of his papers, some 2,500 cubic feet, had not been transferred during his lifetime and were presumed to belong to his estate, leaving the transfers to be made by his executors. These had to obtain court permission to do so, since there was no mention of the papers in the President's will.

A problem of major importance was the identification of certain categories of papers which should not be given to the library or which should be given only with restrictions as to their use.

On this matter, the President had left a memorandum of July 16, 1943, addressed to the director of the library. In it he explained his intention of going through his personal or confidential files in order to select those which should never be made public, or which should be sealed for a prescribed period, or which dealt only with family matters and should be retained by the family. The memorandum stated that if he should be unable to carry out this intention he wished the selection to be performed by a committee of three: Samuel Rosenman, Harry Hopkins, and Grace Tully, or the survivors. Since Harry Hopkins died soon after the President, Judge Rosenman and Miss Tully had to perform the process of selection, which they did with the active assistance of the library staff.

By 1951 this long and difficult task had been accomplished, and it was possible to make the bulk of the President's papers, about 85 percent, available for research. A final ceremony in the library on March 17, 1951, the forty-sixth anniversary of the marriage of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, celebrated this full realization of the President's plan.

In this rapid survey I have tried to show why and how this institution came into being. I have hinted at, but not discussed, the many issues which have been raised and which will long persist. By way of conclusion I should like to quote from two addresses delivered at Hyde Park on different occasions.

When the cornerstone was laid, in 1939, Archibald Mac Leish — who was then Librarian of Congress and who, in that capacity, did not resent the creation of the new library which was to hold much that might have gone to the older institution — said:

> The records which will be collected here are the records . . . of an Era and a Time. They are the records of a period in which the strong and restless life of the American people refused to accept the world as it had been and demanded that the world become the world their longing could imagine. They

are the records of the speaking and acting of a man who, more than any other man, has been the Actor and the Speaker of this time . . . the man who demanded for his generation what his generation had the courage to demand. As such they have the unity which history remembers and even living men can see.

At the dedication of the library in June 1941 the President said:

> It seems to me that the dedication of a library is an act of faith. To bring together the records of the past and to house them in buildings where they will be preserved for the use of men and women in the future, a nation must believe in three things:
>
> It must believe in the past.
>
> It must believe in the future.
>
> It must, above all, believe in the capacity of its own people so to learn from the past that they can gain in judgment in creating their own future.
>
> . . . We hope that millions of our citizens from every part of the land will be glad that what we do today makes available to future Americans the story of what we have lived, and what we are living today, and what we will continue to live during the rest of our lives.

I will add only my own comment, from my address at the final ceremony, March 17, 1951.

> Many will use these documents. Some will seek only to support one or the other side of controversies, to attack or to defend, to magnify or to belittle, and such users will be too often content to lift passages from their context and to distort their meaning. But the use of these collections to add valid and enduring knowledge will be the work of those who, competent in the patient and careful methods of research, have one purpose only — to know the truth.

A.P.I.A.(London).

15, Jubilee Place,
London, S.W.3.

14th September, 1955.

Miss Graham,
31, Grace Court,
Brooklyn 2,
NEW YORK.

Dear Miss Shirley,

Thank you very much for your letter of August 3rd, which gave me the greatest pleasure and also all the information I wanted.

This is really a brief note to acknowledge safe receipt of both letter and large parcel of books. Both came in when I was on holiday in France, and I am only so sorry their arrival was not notified to you before. I have only now been back a few days and have an accumulation of work to sort out. But I shall be getting down without loss of time to your books and your husband's. I am hoping we shall be able to do something quickly with these latter. It's too bad there are no more copies to be had of THE WORLD AND AFRICA, but I will do what I can with this one and meanwhile would like another one, two if you can spare them, of COLOR AND DEMOCRACY.

For your books, though I shall write you again shortly about them, I can say straightaway I should like another couple of copies of THE STORY OF POCAHONTAS for France and Scandinavia. I look forward to hearing from you whether Frederick Muller (whose representation I have on the Continent anyway) are going to take it for their True Books. *~~Would you let me have the name of the Scandinavian publishers of PAUL ROBESON~~. I imagine these publishers have no option on your other work?

I shall be reading the other books with the greatest interest and am sending out THE WOMAN IN THE CASE, under your own name and with the pages of conclusion you sent me substituted for those last pages I originally had. I think the whole story is an amazing one and we must find a publisher for it.

All for now, but will write again soon,

Yours sincerely,

42-1A-61

* Surely you gave me these at end of your letter-

← First fold here →

BY AIR MAIL

PAR AVION

AIR LETTER

AEROGRAMME

LONDON S.W.1.
PM
15 SEP
1955
B

CIVIL

JOIN NOW

Miss Shirley Graham,
31, Grace Court,
Brooklyn 2,
NEW YORK
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

First fold here

Second fold here

Sender's name and address : H. Leresche,
15 Jubilee Place,
London S.W.3.

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE; IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

January 6, 1955

Miss Mina I. Lewis
Apartment 3
96 How Street
Haverhill, Massachusetts

My dear Madam:

Your letters and enclosures have reached me from time to time.

I have not answered simply because there is nothing that I can do.

I have the deepest sympathy for the Indians and for all efforts to help them, but my time and strength are both running out and it is hard to see what extra work I could take on, under the circumstances.

I am glad that you are interested and working hard.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-56

April 27, 1955

Liberty Book Club
100 West 23 Street
New York 11, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

I have come into possession of 200 copies of my COLOR AND DEMOCRACY, the last of them in print.

I can let you have any or all of them at 75¢ a copy. Are you interested?

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-17-64

Liberty BOOK CLUB • INC.
100 WEST 23RD ST., NEW YORK 11, N. Y.
Telephone: WAtkins 4-2706

May 10, 1955

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for your recent letter and your offer of two hundred copies of COLOR AND DEMOCRACY.

Our Editorial Board is discussing your proposal and we should have definite answer in the very near future.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

Mathilde Goldway
Mathilde Goldway
Director of Membership

dpowa/rg

27-17-30

[Library for Intercultural Studies]

MINUTES of the Thirty-sixth Meeting
of the Board of Trustees of the Library
for Intercultural Studies, Inc., held at
58 Park Avenue, New York, New York
on October 26, 1955.

41/16/33

The Thirty-sixth Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Library was held at the place and time above mentioned.

The following Trustees were present:

Mr. Chaffee, Mr. Fairchild, Mr. Koten, Mrs. Lamont, Mr. Ramel and Mr. Yakhontoff.

The Chairman, Mr. Ramel, called the Meeting to order at 8:45 P.M.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were discussed (a copy having been sent to each Trustee) and unanimously approved.

The Financial Statement for the month of September, 1955, was presented by Mr. Koten in the absence of Mr. Spitzer, was discussed in detail, and upon motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, was approved; and it was ordered that the original be attached to the Minutes.

Mr. Koten explained the situation as to the claim against the former owner of 162 East 38th Street for a brokerage commission by reason of the sale of those premises to the Library in lieu of the premises at 142 East 35th Street, and suggested that the Library might be willing to contribute some reasonable amount towards a settlement of the claim in view of the favorable price for which the Library had purchased the 38th Street property, and in view of the continued cooperation of said former owner with the Library relative to the work which must be done at said premises. Upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, a contribution not to exceed $400.00 was authorized provided that the Library is assured of being free from any other claim of any nature concerning any such alleged brokerage commission.

Mr. Chaffee then called attention to the legal services which had been rendered by Earl Barrison, Esq., in connection with the legal proceedings which were instituted relative to clearing title to the premises at 58 Park Avenue, referred to the amount of time devoted by Mr. Barrison to the work, spoke most highly of the quality of those services, and stated that they would ordinarily justify a fee of at least $1,500.00.

A discussion followed, during which it was brought out that the services of Mr. Barrison were offered under a special arrangement in order to save all reasonably possible expense, whereupon it was decided that the amount of $500.00 already paid to Mr. Barrison, should be considered, under all the circumstances, as being entirely fair compensation for the services of Mr. Barrison, and that the matter should be considered as being closed except for a letter to Mr. Barrison from Mr. Ramel explaining the position of the Library and expressing its appreciation to Mr. Barrison for his services.

The matter of obtaining tax exemption for the Library was then discussed and Mr. Chaffee was authorized to have all necessary papers prepared and to take all steps which he might deem necessary or desirable in connection with the matter.

The Statement of Mr. Chaffee, dated October 15, 1955, covering legal services rendered to the Library, was then discussed and it was noted that payment was authorized under the second Resolution (concerning the payment of the debts of the Library) which was adopted at the last Meeting of the Board on September 21, 1955.

41/16/34

Plans concerning the Annual Meeting were then considered, and Friday, December 9, 1955, at 8:30 P.M., was fixed for the time, and 58 Park Avenue as the place, of the Meeting.

The Chairman, in accordance with Article VI of the By-Laws, appointed a Nominating Committee consisting of the following five Voting Members: Stewart W. Chaffee, Henry P. Fairchild, Bernard L. Koten, Margaret I. Lamont and Victor A. Yakhontoff.

The next Meeting of the Board was fixed for the third week in November, 1955, to be subject to call and notice as to the day, time and place, after the Trustees have been consulted as to their availability.

There being no further business, the Meeting was adjourned, sine die, at 11:15 P.M.

Stewart W. Chaffee
Secretary

[Lighton, Dorothy]

January 6, 1955.

Mrs. Dorothy Lighton
c/o Lighton Publications
P.O. Box 1007
San Jose, California

My dear Madam:

May I thank you for the book, "Addict to Yearning."

I regret to say that being immersed in a long novel, I have not had time to read it, but I shall be glad to put it in my library and read it as soon as I can.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-55

December 28, 1956

Mr. Metz T. P. Lochard
5170 South Parkway, Apt. 2
Chicago 15, Ill.

My dear Lochard and Julia:

42-1A-48

I was delighted to hear from you. I have written several times but got no answer and was afraid I had entirely lost track of you. I was lecturing in Chicago in November, but did not attempt to find you. It is a great pleasure for me and Shirley to have this Christmas card and we wish you all good cheer for the New Year. If I come to Chicago again, any time soon, I shall certainly find you, and of course let us know if you come East.

I have been in good health during these last years and keep pretty busily at work. I have finished a three-volume novel covering the history of the American Negro from 1876 to 1956, about 1200 ms. pages. It will be difficult getting it published, but the Association for Negro Life and History is considering it, and Charles Wesley has strongly recommended it. Write down there and jog their courage.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

This Memorial Workshop is held under the auspices of the ALAIN LOCKE MEMORIAL COMMITTEE, 12 Grove Street, New York City, a non-profit organization dedicated to the preservation of the memory of Alain Locke and the furtherance of the principles he espoused.

Arthur Huff Fauret, *chairman,* Pearl Rachlin, *secretary,* Dr. Charles W. Johnson, *treasurer,* Eunice M. Allen, Richmond Barthé, William Stanley Braithwaite, Robert Claybrooks, Thomas B. Dyett, Esq., Harold Jackman, Dr. Benjamin Karpman, Dr. Y. H. Krikorian, Dr. Robert E. Martin, Myron O'Higgins, Dr. Max C. Otto, Peter Pollack, Maurice V. Russell, Hale Woodruff, Arthur D. Wright.

The ALAIN LOCKE MEMORIAL COMMITTEE expresses its thanks to the authorities of New York University who generously offered the facilities of the university to make the workshop possible, and to the following public-spirited friends who sponsored the memorial meeting:

Raymond Pace Alexander, Esq.
Francis Biddle, Esq.
Arna Bontemps
Katherine Garrison Chapin
Mayor Joseph Sill Clark, Jr.
(Philadelphia)
Dr. Rachel Davis Du Bois
Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Dr. E. Franklin Frazier
Dr. Buell G. Gallagher
Edith Halpert
Jessie Fauset Harris
Roland Hayes
Dr. Melville J. Herskovits
Dr. Eugene C. Holmes
Langston Hughes
Dr. Horace M. Kallen

The

ALAIN LOCKE

MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

CORDIALLY INVITES YOU

TO A

MEMORIAL WORKSHOP

Subject

ALAIN LOCKE:

PHILOSOPHY, ART and HUMAN RELATIONS

New York University
La Guardia Hall
W. 4th St. at University Place

Sat., Oct. 29, 1955
Beginning 9:30 A.M.

42/6A/1

I. ALAIN LOCKE HERALDS THE BIRTH OF THE *NEW NEGRO*

Chairman — **Miss Jean Blackwell,** *Curator Schomburg Collection*

"Alain Locke's Relationship to the Negro in American Literature"

Dr. William Stanley Braithwaite, *Author and Critic*

II. "WHAT IS AFRICA TO ME?" (Countee Cullen)

Chairman — **Hale Woodruff,** *Art Department, New York University*

"Alain Locke's Studies in African Sculpture"

Dr. Ladislas Segy, *Director Segy Gallery, New York City*

**Attention of patrons is called to the following*:

1. **Exhibit of African sculptures from Segy**
2. **Art Exhibit consisting of works collected by Hale Woodruff**
3. **Exhibit of Lockeana — Arthur A. Schomburg Collection**

III. WHAT AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY OWES TO ALAIN LOCKE

Chairman — DR. Y. H. KRIKORIAN, *Department of Philosophy, College of the City of New York*

a. "Alain Locke—Scholar, Critic and Spokesman"
DR. EUGENE C. HOLMES, *Howard University*

b. "Alain Locke and Cultural Pluralism"
DR. HORACE M. KALLEN, *New School for Social Research*

IV. LUNCHEON MEETING* 1:00 P.M.

Chairman — ARTHUR D. WRIGHT
"Memories of Alain Locke"
DR. BENJAMIN KARPMAN, *Psychiatrist, St. Elizabeth Hospital, Washington, D. C.*

**The luncheon meeting will be held at The Faculty Club of New York University,* 22 *Washington Square North. Luncheon Reservation* $2.00. *A limited number of seats will be reserved for guests unable to have luncheon but who desire to hear Dr. Karpman.*

Exhibits in memory of Alain Locke
Collection—La Guardia Hall, New York University
Executed by contemporary artists whom Alain Locke influenced.
La Guardia Hall
103 W. 135th Street, N. Y. C.

[Logan]

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.
June 20, 1955

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn Heights, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The Editor of the New Supplement of the Dictionary of American Biography has invited me to do the sketch of President John Hope. I have accepted this heavy responsibility because I was sure that I could count upon the cooperation of many friends who knew him and his work.

I am wondering whether you would be willing to assist me by answering the following questions:

27-17A-68

1. Are there any important omissions in the Torrence biograhpy?

2. Are there any important factual errors or errors of interpretation in this biography?

3. What do you consider his most characteristic gestures and figures of speech?

I should be grateful to you if you would add any particular comment which you think should be included. It would have to be brief since I have been allotted only eight hundred words.

With deep appreciation for your cooperation,

Sincerely yours,

Rayford W. Logan

Rayford W. Logan

RWL:gw

June 24, 1955

Dr. Rayford W/ Logan
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Dr. Logan:

I think the Torrance biography is quite complete and I have nothing to add. Personally I would stress Hope's great modesty and his hesitancy in coming to decisions lest somehow he might unwittingly be hurting somebody.

Very sincerely,

W. E. B. Du BOIS

W.E.B.D./el

27-17A-69

Graduate Center
Bryn Mawr Graduate Center
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania
October 28, 1955

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 W.26 Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois,

I am extremely interested in the subject of race relations, and as a graduate student at Bryn Mawr College am doing research in that field. My thesis is specifically concerned with the actions of the Federal Government toward the Negro during the administration of Woodrow Wilson.

42-1A-69

Although a history student I do not want to use historical method alone but social and psychological techniques as well. I want to understand the specific actions, such as the segregation in the Federal departments, and also how and why they began.

Thus far I have studied magazine and newspaper coverage of the segregation in the departments, specific and general works on Negro problems in this period as well as on 'roots of prejudice', Autobiographies and books on the Cabinet members and Wilson. Your books and articles have been of immense value.

Therefore I wonder if I might call upon you for any suggestions and remarks. I know you are extremely busy, but I would value your advice above that of anyone else. I can easily come up to New York if that would be convenient.

Thank you very much for the help you have given me through your writing, and for any additional guidance.

Sincerely,

Kathleen L. Long

Ans
Nov 7-55

Reprinted: Arkansas State Press
Louisville Defender
Nashville Globe

[Lorch]

The following editorial was published in the Afro-American, January 1, 1955:

"CASE OF DR. LORCH

The Fisk University board of trustees has announced that it will not renew the contract of Dr. Lee Lorch, head of the mathematics department, when it expires in June.

Suspension of Dr. Lorch was voted by the executive committee of the board.

It announced that its members were disturbed because he had been summoned before the House Un-American Activities Committee for questioning about his activities while a graduate student back in 1941.

But there is grave suspicion that the real motive was not announced.

Dr. Lorch, who is of the Jewish faith, testified to nothing before the Velde Committee that was not known to Fisk authorities at the time of his employment in September of 1950.

There is considerable evidence to support the belief that his discharge stems from Dr. Lorch's stubborn and uncompromising fight against racial segregation and discrimination.

His suit demanding that the board of education admit his daughter to an otherwise all-colored school caught the Nashville white community off guard and angered many of its members who sit on the Fisk board of trustees.

They demanded his scalp and got it.

We have always had the highest of admiration for Fisk University and its brilliant president, Dr, Charles A. Johnson. But we think the action of its executive committee in the Lorch affair is unfortunate and ill-advised.

The issues at stake are too important to be decided by a tight little group of 12 men, only one of whom represents minority opinion.

Certainly it would be in the public interest for the board as a whole to carefully review its executive committee's precipitate decision.

We have come upon sad days indeed when an institution like Fisk can be placed in the unhappy position of pulling chesnuts out of the fire for some of the nation's bitterest foes of racial equality."

27-17-47

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

DEPARTMENT OF MATHEMATICS

February 12, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, NY

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Dr. L. D. Reddick is coming to Fisk February 17 which has led me to wonder if you have had any response from him in connection with my situation. The word "my" is really inappropriate but it is already typed. As I recall, you were thinking of writing to him, and I thought it might help me in talking with him to have some feeling for the lay of the land.

There is continued support, as witness the enclosed editorials from the Afro and Black Dispatch. The same issue of the Black Dispatch ran an editorial quoting you. I'll send that one along later when I can get it copied.

Not that it is worth asking, I suppose, but what line did my oily "friend" Bontemps use in talking with you about this issue? He has been one of the most skillful and active of those engaged in sniping at me and in advising Johnson as to appropriate techniques to use in attacking me.

Incidentally, I have written the Secretary of the Alumni Association suggesting that he get in touch with the Social Science Press to work out an arrangement to market your book through the Association. In later conversation he indicated an interest in following up, but I don't know if he has done anything. Perhaps your publisher might take hold and initiate some correspondence himself, if it seems worthwhile.

My family joins in warm greetings to you and Mrs. DuBois.

Cordially,

Lee Lorch

Lee Lorch.

27-17-43

[Lorch]

The following editorial was published in the Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City, February 12, 1955. The Afro editorial of January 1 to which it refers has been reprinted also in the Arkansas State Press, Louisville Defender and Nashville Globe:

DR. LORCH STILL FIGHTS

Further support for Dr. Lee Lorch head of the Fisk University mathematics department, has been made public in a letter published in the Afro-American (January 29) by the Honorable Hubert T. Delany, judge of the New York Domestic Relations Court. Judge Delany is vice president of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and is a long-time member of the NAACP National Board of Directors.

Dr. Lorch, himself long active in the fight for racial equality, was summoned before the House Un-American Committee in September without advance notice as to why, shortly after he asked the Nashville school board to admit his daughter to the only public school in his neighborhood (still a "colored school" despite the May 17 Supreme Court decision). He was questioned by the House Committee on statements made before it in 1950 (four years earlier) by two professional witnesses to the effect that Dr. Lorch had been a member of the Ohio Communist party back in 1941. They did not claim that he ever advocated or did anything illegal. He told the Committee that he is not a member of the Communist party and was not when he went to Fisk in 1950, but refused to tell the Committee whether he ever had been or not, asserting that he fefused because "of respect and support for the First Amendment, to say what political beliefs and associations I might or might not have had..., believing that such beliefs and associations are the private business of the individual citizen and do not have to be paraded before a congressional subcommittee." He

27-17-44

also told the Committee that it could spend its time better by investigating the Talmadages threatening to use force and violence to defy the Supreme Court.

Many community leaders, alumni, teachers and fellow-mathematicians elsewhere came to his support, but the Un-American Activities Committee has recommended that he be cited for contempt because of his refusal to answer some of its questions. Editorials in his behalf were published in the Black Dispatch (Oklahoma City), one of which was republished in the Atlanta Daily World, Louisville Defender and Nashville Globe.

The Fisk Board of Trustees, reportedly under pressure from certain white members, took up the matter but could not come to any decision. Then the Board's executive committee (ten of whose 11 members are white) met and voted to drop Dr. Lorch from the Fisk faculty at the end of the school year in June.

The Afro-American then published an editorial advising the full Board to "review its executive committee's precipitated decision." It pointed out that all but one of the members of the Fisk Board's executive committee are white and stated: "There is considerable evidence to support the belief that his discharge stems from Dr. Lorch's stubborn and uncompromising fight against racial segregation and discrimination."

Judge Delany's letter supported the position taken by the Afro editorial, declaring "He (Dr. Lorch) certainly has been on the side of decency in the fight for civil rights for a long time, and it has been a costly experience for him."

The text of Judge Delany's letter follows:

27-17-45

New York.--Allow me to congratulate the Afro on the editorial, "The Case of Dr. Lorch," which appeared in the January 1 issue.

The editorial upholds the high standards of editorials published by the Afro and it hits the nail right on the head.

I hope the Afro will use its influence to see that no injustice is done to Dr. Lorch.

He certainly has been on the side of decency in the fight for civil rights for a long time, and it has been a costly experience for him.

I think it is the duty of all responsible people to understand what the issue is and to support him in his effort to make the Supreme Court decision effective.

2-17-46

February 15, 1955

Mr. Lee Lorch
1615 Meharry Blvd.
Nashville 8, Tennessee

My dear Dr. Lorch:

I am just writing to Reddick with regard to a review which he made of my "Souls of Black Folk" in the ~~Crisis~~. Phylon

I will gladly include a word of your case.

Thank you for the information sent me.

Bontemps did not mention your case, and neither Shirley nor I brought it up. I can talk to people who disagree with me, and to those with whom I sympathise, but to those who are on the fence or are not going to be frank, I confess I have no methods of approach.

I trust this will find you and Mrs. Lorch and the little girl in good health.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

PS About reprinting Darkwater or John Brown - can you send me "the Calif address"?
D

27-17-418

[Lorch]

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

DEPARTMENT OF MATHEMATICS

February 16, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The California reprint house which I mentioned is "Academic Reprints, Post Office Box 3003, Stanford, California." The director is Dr. Richard B. Fisher. It is my understanding that he plans to be in New York, possibly by the time you receive this letter or even earlier, and will get in touch with you at your office.

Reddick will be here tomorrow. I hope to have a chance to talk with him then and will write you subsequently. I hope that he will have received your note before getting here.

I enclose an extra carbon copy of the letter I wrote Mr. Dunjee in appreciation of his editorial.

There are of course a number of other things which should be said, but which undoubtedly should be said by others at this stage in the game. While I was at the annual meeting of the American Mathematical Society a number of very well meaning but rather naive mathematicians expressed great bewilderment over my dismissal from a Negro university. I had to explain to them over and over again that a Negro university is one attended by Negroes, not controlled by Negroes. What has happened here is another example of white domination. This domination is frequently exercised in subtle forms, getting Negroes to front for whites, such as is being increasingly attempted in the field of international relations. But except for Dr. Johnson's role in this, the whites did this all by themselves. As the Afro and the Black Dispatch both point out, the Executive Committee of the Fisk Board of Trustees has on it only one Negro. The entire Board is about two-thirds white.

All of us are in good health and spirits and trust that the same can be said of you and Shirley.

Cordially yours,

Lee Lorch

Lee Lorch

LL/md

27-10-62

[ENC]

February 16, 1955

Mr. Roscoe Dunjee
The Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Dunjee:

It was with great pleasure that I read your editorial in the February 12 issue dealing with the flank attack made on me by the House Committee on Un-American Activities shortly after I attempted to enroll my daughter in the only public school in our neighborhood, a school from which she is still debarred despite the Supreme Court Decision, and the action of the Executive Committee of the Fisk Board of Trustees in deciding to drop me from the faculty rather than to resist reactionary forces.

I view this situation as part of a desperate drive being made by anti-Negro forces to perpetuate segregation. Citizen Councils, sometimes referred to as "up-town Ku Klux Klans" have been formed in several southern states in an open and undisguised effort to apply economic and other pressures against those seeking to wipe out segregation. In Louisville, Kentucky, Mr. and Mrs. Carl Braden, white, have been sentenced to 15 years in the state penitentiary as the very first people to be convicted under a sedition statute passed in 1920. Their real crime was that they transferred a house in a previously all white neighborhood to Negro friends of theirs. As you know, the prosecution alleged that this was done for the purpose of inciting racial strife, in the well worn phrase, and thereby promoting the cause of Communism. This reminds me of a decision of the Supreme Court of the Union of South Africa in which they attempted to suppress opposition to segregation on the grounds that racial equality is a tenet of Communism and is therefore forbidden under the anti-Communist laws of the Union of South Africa.

27-10-63

You remember the attack made last spring by the Dixiecrat Eastland on the white members of the Board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, when he tried to help create the picture of all anti-segregation whites being necessarily "subversive." This back-fired and so now we find indirect attacks being made on opponents of segregation in order to discredit their anti-segregation activities without having to call these latter openly into question.

The extent of this attack is a measure of the desperation of the anti-democratic forces still seeking to maintain segregation in our country. But they are fighting a losing battle. They may still be able to inflict casualties in the ranks of those fighting for the democratic rights of all citizens, regardless of race, creed or color, but they will succeed in doing damage only to the extent that they can confuse and divide us. If we stick together and fight hard we shall gain an increasing number of allies throughout America, including every corner of the southland, and also throughout the entire world.

Sincerely,

Lee Lorch

LL/md

27-10-64

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

DEPARTMENT OF MATHEMATICS

41-19E-12

February 21, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

For the past several years my family and I have had the great pleasure and privilege of expressing our deep respect and profound affection on your birthday anniversary. We look forward to saluting you and taking inspiration from your great example for many years.

In our America of today, whose democratic traditions are being throttled by reactionary forces which have failed to assimilate the lessons of the Hitler debacle, it may seem a little fatuous to offer the customary birthday wish of happiness. Yet I feel that happiness too is something to which all of us can look forward. In your case this should be particularly true. Your long lifetime of effective work against colonial oppression, a work done without thought of reward (the only way that good work is done), has in the recent past and in the present been rewarded profoundly in the climactic changes which have taken place in Africa and Asia. These changes have clearly sounded the death knell of colonialism. Who doubts now that the rest of the colonial world will soon free itself from bondage and help lead mankind to glory as yet unperceived?

These upheavals, inspiring and combined with the awakening aspirations of a long suffering people, have also forced decisive changes within our own borders and presented us with the paradox of gains and concessions in one area during an epoch when the forces dominating our country are seeking to crush civil rights. One may hope without being naive that these vast changes may yet cause a resurgence and new era at home as well.

So we greet you on your 87th birthday with respect, affection, joy in our friendship with you and Shirley, and with best wishes for many years of health and happiness ahead.

Sincerely,

Lee Lorch

Lee Lorch

LL/md

Lee Lorch

[Lorch]

Following is the complete text of an article published in the NASHVILLE GLOBE, March 11, 1955:

Dr. Lee Lorch of Fisk University, a long time fighter for Civil Rights and City and State Officer of the NAACP, has been indicted for "contempt of Congress." Indicted on the same charge was Professor Robert M. Metcalf of Antioch College whose administration has announced its intention of retaining Prof. Metcalf's services despite the indictment or the circumstances leading up to it. The Executive Committee of the Fisk Board of Trustees, ten-elevenths white, announced some time ago that Dr. Lorch would be dropped from the faculty this June following five years of service as head of the mathematics department.

The charges against both men arose out of a hearing held by the House Un-American Activities Committee in Dayton last September. Both told the Committee that they were not members of the Communist Party. Professor Metcalf told the Committee that he had once been a member some years ago but refused to inform on others. It was for this refusal that he was indicted.

Dr. Lorch refused to state whether he ever had been or not, declaring that "the private views and associations of an individual citizen are his own business and do not have to be paraded before a Congressional committee." He did add, however, that he wanted to save Fisk embarrassing publicity and therefore told the Committee that he did not hold Communist Party membership when he agreed to come to Fisk in 1950. He was indicted for refusing to tell the Committee whether or not he had been a member in 1941 while a student at the University of Cincinnati and similar refusals.

He was subpoenaed to appear before this Committee without being told why, shortly after he attempted to enroll his daughter, white, in the neighborhood public school, still "all colored" despite the Supreme Court decision. He then learned that he had been named before this Committee in public session four years earlier by two professional witnesses who claimed that he had been a member of the Communist Party 13 years earlier.

These witnesses, Mr. and Mrs. John Edmiston, are the same people who introduced Harvey Matusow to the occupation of professional informer and who received $375 as their commission for articles Matusow sold to the Hearst press through them, as reported in the New York Post, March 7. The Edmistons were also "expert witnesses" in the Braden trial in Louisville recently when Braden, white, was sentenced to 15 years on a 1920 sedition statute following his transfer of a house in a white neighborhood to a colored friend, Andrew Wade. (The prosecutor claimed Braden transferred the house to "incite racial strife and thereby promote the cause of communism." The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Avenue, New York, has been collecting funds for the ~~Wade~~ defense and the American Civil Liberties Union has supplied lawyers. Braden

27-10-65

In his testimony before the Un-American Activities Committee, Dr. Lorch suggested that the Committee should get after the Talmadges who have openly threatened force and violence against the Constitution if any effort is made to enforce the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation. Following his indictment a number of his friends have commented that the federal authorities would do better to get after the Citizens Councils openly flaunting the law by their persecution of anti-segregationists than by attacking a man whose activities against segregation have earned him the animosity of reactionaries. They want to know why no congressional committee has investigated the Talmadges for their subversive utterances or looked into the murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore in Mims, Florida. They say that the real un-Americans are being helped by the harrassment of Dr. Lorch, whose activities against discrimination they praise.

Dr. Lorch is perhaps best known nationally for his leadership in the successful fight some years ago to force the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company to accept colored tenants in Stuyvesant Town in New York City. It was into his apartment that the first colored residents of that project came as his guests and were later recognized as tenants in their own right. In the course of this campaign he was dismissed from City College, New York, and then from Penn. State.

27-10-66

[Lorch]

FISK UNIVERSITY

Nashville, Tennessee

March 28, 1955

Dear Friend:

A number of things have happened since my previous general letter (dated December 14). At that time I informed you that the Un-American Activities Committee had asked that I be prosecuted for contempt and that the Executive Committee of the Fisk Board of Trustees had voted the following day to drop me from the faculty at the end of the school year, without assigning the contempt proceedings as "the" reason. I sent along the Statement the Executive Committee issued together with some of my own private comments thereon.

I also informed you that I had appealed to the Board to review the action of its Executive Committee on the grounds that its Statement concerning me included charges with which I had never been faced and concerning which there had been no hearing.

After writing you I heard from the Chairman of the Board, Dr. Franklin C. McLean of the University of Chicago, informing me of his opinion that the matter is closed and not subject to appeal to the full Board. He stated the issue to have been "whether the Board would concur in the failure of the President to initiate reappointment," whereas the President had claimed that this was a Board action and not his own.

There are, however, other members of the Board who do not regard the matter as closed. The next meeting of the full Board (the first since last October) is now set for April 29.

On January 14 I replied to Dr. McLean giving further reasons why he should not regard the issue as settled, but he has not responded to this letter. One point I made dealt with tenure, to whose protection I believe I am entitled under the joint "1940 Statement of Principles" of the AAUP, Association of American Colleges and other organizations. The official Statement of the [Executive Committee of the] Board of Trustees referred to the 1940 Statement as authoritative and hence should be bound by its provisions, including the ones dealing with tenure.

I understand that a number of people have written Dr. McLean in my behalf but I know of no reply indicating that he has changed his mind.

A number of weekly newspapers have indicated opposition to my dismissal. I enclose a copy of an editorial which was published in the Afro-American, a very prominent weekly, and reprinted in other papers. Also enclosed is an account of my indictment published in the Nashville Globe and subsequently elsewhere. Considerable opposition to my dismissal and resentment of the indictment has been expressed.

Sincerely,

Lee Lorch

LL/md

Lee Lorch

27-10-67

May 12, 1955

Dear Friend:

It is time that I inform you of the current state of affairs. The enclosed copy of an account in the well-known Pittsburgh Courier, a paper of large circulation supporting the Republican Party, reveals something of what has been going on.

I have a copy of Dr. Zeigler's statement to the press. Except for one point, the Courier story is an accurate representation of his position. The one correction that should be offered is in the fifth paragraph of the account where it is said that Dr. Zeigler ascribes my dismissal to my "conduct subsequent" to the Un-American Committee's hearings. My interpretation of Dr. Zeigler's point is that certain other trustees attempted to claim that this was the reason.but, as he states, that he regards dismissal as due to my "firm stand for principles and true democratic ideas."

Dr. Zeigler, a Chicago dentist, is an alumni trustee and is one of several trustees to oppose dismissal.

Certain local businessmen on the Board threatened to resign from the Board unless I was fired, openly stating that my activities against segregation "embarrassed" them in social and business life with fellow members in the Chamber of Commerce. Every member present of the white majority on the Board voted for dismissal; most of the Negroes on the Board opposed dismissal. In at least some instances those Negroes who "went along" or abstained are not free agents.

I have no offer of another position as yet but I have been in correspondence with some possibilities.

No date has yet been set for my trial (on "contempt") although argument on some preliminary motions is now in progress.

Sincerely,

Lee Lorch

Lee Lorch

LL/md

27-10-71

[Lorch]

Following is the complete text of a report published in the Pittsburgh Courier, May 14, 1955, page one:

Firing Brings Protest

FISK U. BOARD NOT TOGETHER IN LORCH CASE

Nashville, Tenn. -- The dismissal of a mathematics professor from the Fisk University faculty boiled over into the open here this week when it was revealed that the school's board of trustees was not in complete agreement regarding action taken by the group's executive committee.

The professor involved is Dr. Lee Lorch.

The board, meeting on April 29, voted to approve action of its executive committee which had decided, earlier, not to renew Dr. Lorch's contract as a member of the faculty.

William J. Zeigler, a trustee of the school, told the Courier that the Lorch case was brought before the board by "members who believed that Dr. Lorch had not been given a fair trial."

According to Dr. Zeigler the reason for Dr. Lorch's dismissal stemmed from his "conduct subsequent to his hearing before the sub-committee of Congress."

The trustee said to the Courier,"Contrary to the impression given by the local Nashville paper, that the approval was a mere 'formality' which would brand the members of the board of trustees as perhaps 'rubber stamp,' I wish to state that there were dissenters who believe that Dr. Lorch was dismissed, or rather that his contract was not renewed, more because of his firm stand for principles and true democratic ideas..."

27-10-72

Dr. Zeigler stated further that "I bow to the majority vote" of the trustees, but added, "I must inform the thousands of loyal Fiskites who voted for me as their representative that I was a dissenter to this action and that I shall, as long as I am on the board, oppose anything that that to me seems to cramp the ideals and principles of right and fair play as taught me by such former members of Fisk faculty as Dora Scribner, John Work, Minnie Crosthwaite, George Gates and others."

Dr. Zeigler did not stand alone in his denunciation of the dismissal. The Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance of Davidson County, Nashville, voted unanimously to denounce the board's executive committee action.

Under the signatures of Loyce Patrick, president; J. M. Cranberry, Jr., secretary, and P. C. Campbell, chairman, the pastors wrote the board charging that "Dixiecrats, anxious to stop Dr. Lorch's persistent efforts against segregation, succeeded in getting a committee of the House of Representatives to do their dirty work."

Dr. Lorch had been called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities shortly after he had attempted to enroll a daughter into an all-Negro school.

His actions before this committee, in which he refused to answer certain queries, are believed to underlie his dismissal by the school.

The ministers asserted, "This committee has never investigated those guilty of the truly Un-American Activity of racial discrimination, even where murder, lynching and widespread terror have been involved. So we are not surprised that it should be willing to embarrass Dr. Lorch."

The Ministers also accused the school's board of "pandering to local pro-segregation forces."

They pleaded, "We call upon some other Negro University to come forward now and offer Dr. Lorch a post in order to secure his effective scholarship and to show our determination to end segregation."

School officials remained mum about the case. However, informed sources say that school officials are pointing out that Dr. Lorch will remain until the end of his contract. These officials further state that Dr. Lorch was never dismissed. Instead, they say, his contract was not renewed.

27-10-73

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

DEPARTMENT OF MATHEMATICS

May 13, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I suppose that you have received the enclosed account in the Courier. I enclose also a copy of the full text of Zeigler's statement, which was published in the form of a letter to the editor in the Afro under date of May 14. Enclosed also is the text of a statement and letter issued by the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance locally.

Dr. Henry Allen Boyd has recently issued a statement which I suppose will be out in the weeklies next week. If you have time, I should appreciate your making a public statement to the press as an alumnus of Fisk University.

Off the record, the Trustees who opposed dismissal besides Boyd and Zeigler were Percy Julian, L. Howard Bennett and Mrs. Sadie St.Clair. This information is not published.

Excuse this hasty note.

Sincerely,
Lee Lorch
Lee Lorch

P.S. All the best to you & Shirley.

27-10-69

[1955]

COPY

Copy to
The Chicago Defender
Pittsburgh Courier
Negro Associated Press
Afro-American News Paper

300 East 61st Street
Chicago, Illinois

The Board of Trustees of Fisk University voted, April 29, 1955, to approve the action of its Executive Committee previously taken - "not to renew the contract of Dr. Lee Lorch," Head of the Department of Mathematics, Fisk University.

The question of Dr. Lorch's "contract renewal," as presented by the Executive Committee, was brought up in the Board Meeting by members of the Board who were not in accord with the thinking of the Executive Committee and there were dissenters who believed that Dr. Lorch had not been given a fair and impartial trial.

Contrary to the impression given by the local Nashville paper, that the approval was a mere "formality" which would brand the members of the Board of Trustees as perhaps "rubber-stamp," I wish to state that there were dissenters who believe that Dr. Lorch was dismissed, or rather that his contract was not renewed more because of his firm stand for principles and true democratic ideals than for his "conduct subsequent to his hearing before the sub-committee of Congress."

As a Trustee and alumnus of Fisk University, I bow to the majority vote of the Trustees, but at the same time, I must inform the thousands of loyal Fiskites who voted for me as their representative that I was a dissenter to this action and that I shall, as long as I am on the Board, oppose anything that to me seems to cramp the ideals and principles of right and fair play as taught me by such former members of Fisk Faculty as Dora Scribner, John Work, Minnie Crosthwaite, George Gates and others.

William J. Zeigler
Trustee, Fisk University

27-10-70.

[Lorch]

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
From: Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance of Davidson County,
Nashville, Tennessee. Reverend Loyce Patrick, President.
1204 16 Av. N., Nashville. Phone: 6-5869.

The officers of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, Nashville, Tennessee, have denounced the action of the Fisk University Board of Trustees in firing Dr. Lee Lorch, mathematics department head and well-known fighter for civil rights.

Describing the Board's action as "shocking", they declared: "It is amazing that the forces dominating Fisk should have nerve enough to offend its basic constituency by sacrificing such a notable fighter for civil rights on the demand of reactionary local whites sitting on the Board of Trustees.

Dr. Lorch has served Fisk well. He has also long been an outstanding and courageous campaigner against discrimination. We recall with pride the valiant role he played in the long struggle to force the giant Metropolitan Life Insurance Company to rent apartments to Negro tenants in its vast Stuyvesant Town housing project in New York.

Dismissed from two leading northern colleges because of his insistence in smashing what had become a national symbol of housing segregation, he continued his activities unabated when he came to Nashville five years ago. Becoming a symbol of the growing aspiration of an increasing number of whites to live in a country in which the brotherhood of man on earth is made a reality, he soon won the respect of forward looking citizens--and the animosity of reactionaries.

His effort last June to secure his daughter admission to the public school nearest his home, a school attended by colored children, gave Nashville an opportunity to abide by the May 17 decision of the Supreme Court.

Instead a specious attack was made on him through the agency of the House UnAmerican Activities Committee, ostensibly for other reasons. This Committee abuses a man who, as we know him, is a strong and effective advocate of the American dream of freedom and equality for all. It does not investigate those notorious forces openly organizing or threatening the use of force and violence to subvert constitutional safeguards of the citizenship rights of Negroes.

More concerned with pandering to local pro-segregation forces in the name of good public relations than with basic precepts of academic freedom and civil rights, the Fisk Board of Trustees has brought dishonor on itself and the University by its behavior.

We call upon some other Negro University to come forward now and offer Dr. Lorch a post in order both to secure his effective scholarship and to show our determination to end segregation.

Lest it be thought that our concern comes too late, we release now to the public the letter the Alliance sent to the Fisk Board of Trustees before the meeting at which it approved finally this disgraceful act.

The text of the letter is enclosed.

27-10-75

[Lorch]

27-10-74

INTERDENOMINATIONAL MINISTERIAL ALLIANCE
OF DAVIDSON COUNTY

Rev. Loyce Patrick, President
1204 - 16th. Ave., North
Nashville, Tennessee
April 28, 1955

Board of Trustees, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

Ladies and Gentlemen:

By unanimous vote of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance of Davidson County, we have been directed to advise you of our request that you act to retain Dr. Lee Lorch on the faculty of Fisk University.

Ordinarily we would not be concerned with the purely administrative acts of Fisk or any other University, but circumstances in this case will not allow us to remain silent. As is generally known, Dr. Lorch's status at Fisk was not jeopardized by any academic deficiency on his part. We understand, in fact, from public statements made by President Charles S. Johnson himself that Dr. Lorch's scholarly achievements have brought much distinction to the University.

Dr. Lorch was called before the House Un-American Activities Committee shortly after he attempted to secure the admission of his daughter to a school from which white children are now excluded. Although he was not questioned by that Committee explicitly on that point, we find ourselves in agreement with the view expressed by the largest Negro weekly, the Afro-American, which is that the Dixiecrats, anxious to stop Dr. Lorch's persistent efforts against segregation, succeeded in getting a Committee of the House of Representatives to do their dirty work. This Committee has never investigated those guilty of the truly Un-American Activity of racial discrimination, even where murder, lynching and widespread terror have been involved. So we are not surprised that it should be willing to embarrass Dr. Lorch. On the other hand, Fisk University certainly should not be put in the position of completing an attack on a well-known and vigorous supporter of racial equality by dropping him from a position he has filled so well.

As ministers of Nashville and Davidson County we decry any injustice perpetrated against anyone. We are particularly concerned that no injustice be done against an individual who has devoted himself so effectively, so consistently and so long to the task of realizing the brotherhood of man on earth. We therefore respectfully and prayerfully, call upon you to retain Dr. Lorch on the Fisk faculty that he may continue to live with us and work with us in the future as in the past.

No other solution will be acceptable to the Ministry of this area, as we must in good conscience state frankly to you. We say this deliberately, but we say it as friends and supporters of Fisk University, which many of us have attended and to which we have sent our children. We say it in the hope that Fisk will thereby help lead the way toward the light of liberty that freedom may exist in the land.

Sincerely yours,

Sgd./ Loyce Patrick, President

Sgd./ J. M. Granberry, Jr., Secretary
Sgd./ P.C. Campbell, Chairman, Social Action Committee

May 18, 1955

Dr. Lee Lorch
Dept. of Mathematics
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

My dear Dr. Lorch:

It came out as I was afraid it would under the circumstances, and I am very sorry.

I am enclosing a statement which you may use as you please. There would be little use in my sending it to the Negro press as I am sure it would not be published.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-76

May 18, 1955

Dr. Lee Lorch
Dept. of Mathematics
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

My dear Dr. Lorch:

As an alumnus of Fisk University I deeply regret to learn that you will not continue to be on the Fisk faculty.

Fisk University and other Negro colleges need today more than ever before men of learning and independent thought, and whenever such men are excluded for petty reasons of envy and fear it is a blow not only to Negro education but to all education in this ignorant world.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-77

Philander Smith College
Little Rock, Ark.

December 20, 1955

42/1A/22

Dear Friend:

I have been so busy getting moved, starting on my new job, etc., that I haven't even notified many friends where I am or what my situation is. Doing so now in broadside fashion will duplicate information already in the possession of some of you, but will at least allow me to bring a number of people up-to-date.

1. Job. I am now at Philander Smith College, a four-year accredited liberal arts college enrolling about 600 students, operated under the auspices of the Methodist Church. The school was founded shortly after the Civil War jointly by that Church and the Western Freedmen's Bureau, an agency of the federal government. Its funds come primarily from Church sources, tuition fees and the United Negro College Fund. It is the only accredited four year college in this metropolitan area of nearly 200,000.

2. Legal situation. The prosecuting attorney has stated that my trial for "contempt of congress" is not likely to begin before late spring or early fall, although I was indicted last February. The Judge has granted part of my attorney's motion for a Bill of Particulars and has ordered the government to supply such a Bill before February 1. He has dismissed the indictment against Professor Robert Metcalf of Antioch College, who was also charged with "contempt" as a result of the same hearings which brought about my indictment.

The prosecuting attorney was quoted in a Dayton newspaper as saying that the legal bases of the two cases are so similar that the government will probably have to follow the same line of action in both instances. It can appeal to the Circuit Court to reinstate the Metcalf indictment, or can seek to secure a new one from the federal grand jury, or can drop the entire case against him. I have not heard what decision, if any, it has reached.

This fall several judges in other federal districts have dismissed counts (and even entire cases) for reasons which appear applicable to mine. One judge, e.g., ruled that congressional committees cannot engage in what he termed "fishing expeditions" but must confine themselves to questions relevant to the stated purpose of the specific hearing at which the witness is testifying, both as to place and time. This seems to place at least some restriction on the generalized smear.

So, for the moment at least, the civil and judicial atmospheres both seem to justify some optimism in respect to such cases as mine. It may not be too much to hope that some day some congressional and federal agencies will awaken to their responsibilities in connection with the systematic and growing reign of terror now waxing in some parts of our country designed to silence, by whatever methods appear necessary, those attempting to secure observance of the rights of Negroes.

Let this last be my wish for the new year which I hope will find all of the recipients of this letter in health and happiness.

Sincerely,

Lee Lorch.

December 28, 1955

Mr. Lee Lorch
Philander Smith College
Little Rock, Ark.

My dear Mr. Lorch:

42-1A-49

Shirley and I were delighted to get your circular letter of December 20. We are sending our best wishes to you, Mrs. Lorch, and the little girl. I know about Philander Smith College, and have lectured there in the past, and I used to know some of the colored people in Little Rock.

I am glad to know ~~of~~ the favorable aspects of your trial and hope with you that the whole matter will be quashed. I spoke at Antioch College two or three years ago. We had Carl Braden up here at the Guardian dinner, and Mrs. Braden at the Debs memorial.

I am trying a series of articles in the National Guardian to emphasize the present aspects of the Negro problem, especially in Mississippi. I hope you and your family are well, and that you will enjoy your work in Arkansas, although I presume that the small college atmosphere will not be the most inspiring in the world.

We join in best regards and hope that when you come this way you will be sure to let us know.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

800 S. Halsted St
Chicago. May 17.'55.

Dear DuBois:

I received a letter some time ago from Mr. Joliot-Curie inviting me to the Conference at Buda-Pesth. I replied that I could not obtain a passport for that, or probably for any, purpose. I presume that the same situation exists today. Of course if my name is of any value to the World Peace Council I am glad to have it used as a member, merely as window dressing. I hope that present indications of relaxation of international tension are not entirely fallacious and that you and I may be able to attend a future meeting.

My best to you and Shirley Graham—

Sincerely Robert Morss Lovett.

27-14-36

April 18, 1955

Miss Florence H. Luscomb
140 Huron Avenue
Cambridge 38
Massachusetts

Dear Miss Luscomb:

I have read of the ordeal ~~through~~ which you are going through, but have been out of the country for a month getting some rest and making some observations in Haiti.

I do not know just what your status is now. I hope you are out of jail. But in any case may I congratulate you on your fine fight for decency and freedom in a nation which seems to have gone quite crazy.

I place hope in the fact that matters cannot possibly go much fatther in the direction in which they are going, and I hope to hear soon of some word of triumph from you and your comrades who have been fighting so faithfully.

I remember how valiantly you stood by me in my ordeal.

Shirley joins me in best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-5

140 Huron Ave.,
Cambridge 38, Mass.
April 25, 1955.

Dear Dr. BuBois,

It is a very heartwarming thing to receive a letter of encouragement and friendship like yours. I appreciate it more than I can say.

So far, aside from having a lot of fun and considerable hard work, nothing has happened to me. The Inquisition has not cited me for contempt, though they could still do so when they make their report in May. However, I think that is unlikely. Partly because of the very wide publicity which my statement received and the public opinion which it has created. The help that poured in from all over the country enabled us to print and mail out 25,000 copies. Evidently it got the Inquisitors worried, for they sent their agent to our printer to find out how many we had had. When Inquisitors worry, honest citizens get their liberties.

27-17-49

I am enjoying your series on Africa in the Guardian tremendously. Ever since that continent first swam into my ken with the reading of your history of Africa many, many years ago, I have always been deeply interested in it.

Sincerely yours,

Florence H. Luscomb

BROWN UNIVERSITY
PROVIDENCE 12, RHODE ISLAND

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

April 12, 1955

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I have just written a biography of Billy Sunday which is to be published next fall by the Chicago University Press. I am writing to ask your permission to use as an illustration for my book a cartoon which appeared in the Crisis in April, 1918 (p. 285). The cartoon is by Lorenzo Harris and attacks Sunday for his failure to take a stand against lynching and race prejudice. This cartoon seems to me to be worth reproducing for its sharp comment upon revivalism (and one which might also be made of many evangelists today).

I will of course give full credit to Mr. Harris and to the Crisis.

Yours truly,

William G McLoughlin Jr

William G. McLoughlin, Jr.

280 Benefit St.
Providence, R.I.

27-14-5

April 18, 1955

Mr. William G. McLoughlin, Jr.
Dept. of Political Science
Brown University
Providence 12, Rhode Island

My dear Mr. McLoughlin:

You are quite at liberty to use the cartoon in the CRISIS. The copyright has run out, the author is dead, and the cartoon was my property.

27-14-6

Of course I shall be glad to have you give credit to Mr. Harris and the CRISIS.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

L

December 28, 1955

Miss Louise Mally
60 East 9 street
New York 3

42-1A-99

My dear Miss Mally:

Answering your letter of December 17, may I say I should be glad to speak at the dinner Saturday, January 21, at the Hotel Great Northern. My fee will be $25.00.

Will you send me a good statement of the case and later I will discuss my subject with you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

[Marcantonio Memorial]

THE VITO MARCANTONIO MEMORIAL
1484 FIRST AVENUE • NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK • RHinelander 4-6450

Miriam S. Marcantonio, Honorary Chairman
Arthur Schutzer, Secretary

January 1955

27-5-83

Dear Friend:

Marcantonio is dead. It is difficult to realize that this vivid personality, this tireless worker is gone forever. The influence of his life will long remain, but we who live still have opportunity to make his example reach further and his world become better for long years ahead.

I am therefore writing you as one who appreciated the work of Vito Marcantonio, to ask your help in keeping his memory alive. This, you will agree, is the day of all days when his deep faith in America and his long struggle for Peace and Justice must be made a part of our eternal heritage.

To accomplish this, we who loved Marc and who owe him much more than can ever be repaid, are seeking to establish a memorial to his memory and for the realization of his ideals. It will seek to make men remember the life of a man who had the courage of his convictions and dared stand against a cloud of opponents for what he thought was right, and who was an example of tireless devotion to his constituents and to all the people of our land. Marc's selfless loyalty made him stand apart and above his fellows. This is the sort of man which the world today must not forget.

The purposes of the Memorial are explained on the enclosed folder. Already the Memorial has held a great meeting in New York City on December 7th, and this spring it will publish selections of Marc's speeches in and out of Congress.

Will you help this project by using the enclosed envelope and filling out its inner flap? Will you induce your friends to cooperate?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. B. DuBois

THE VITO MARCANTONIO MEMORIAL

1484 First Avenue, New York 21, N.Y., RH 4-6450

MIRIAM S. MARCANTONIO, *Honorary Chairman*
ARTHUR SCHUTZER, *Secretary*

Enroll in The Vito Marcantonio Memorial

If you wish to make a contribution to the Vito Marcantonio Memorial, or if you desire to become an Annual Associate, please fill out the underside of the flap of the enclosed envelope.

Regular Associate	$1 per year
Contributing Associate	$10 per year
Sustaining Associate	$25 per year
Endowment Associate	$100 per year

264

December 10, 1902
August 9, 1954

27-5-84

"It is best to live one's life with one's conscience than to temporize or accept with silence those things which one believes to be against the interests of one's people and one's nation."

Hon. Vito Marcantonio
Tuesday, June 27, 1950
in the House of Representatives

THESE ARE THE PURPOSES OF THE VITO MARCANTONIO MEMORIAL

1. To keep alive and ever-present among the people of his community and of this country, the meaning and the memory of the life and activities of Vito Marcantonio.
    - a. By assembling, publishing and distributing the record of his life, his community activities, his congressional career, his writings and his speeches;
    - b. By creating enduring memorials of public and private character, including but not limited to, Vito Marcantonio Memorial scholarships, essay awards and other similar memorials;
    - c. By holding annual and other public assemblies to commemorate his life and work.
2. To help support, financially or otherwise, other groups, committees or associations which The Vito Marcantonio Memorial may deem proper and fitting in the carrying on or continuing of activities or services which were identified with Vito Marcantonio during his lifetime.
3. To assume and to discharge those financial obligations and commitments incurred by Vito Marcantonio in connection with his public career and services rendered by him to the people.
4. To establish and maintain a headquarters of The Vito Marcantonio Memorial.

27-5-85

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I would like to contribute $..................... to The Vito Marcantonio Memorial.

I would like to become an annual Associate of The Vito Marcantonio Memorial on the following basis: (check one)

Regular Associate - - - - $1 per year (   )
Contributing Associate - $10 per year (   )
Sustaining Associate - - $25 per year (   )
Endowment Associate - $100 per year (   )

Please send me information on the forthcoming Marcantonio Memorial Volume. Check here (   )

Name..

Address...

(Kindly make checks payable to The Vito Marcantonio Memorial)

263

February 23, 1955

Vito Marcantonio Memorial
1484 First Avenue
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is $1 contribution from Mr. Anton Slesak, 206 No. Warwick Avenue, Westmont, Illinois.

He writes that he sent $5 about two weeks ago but it seems that he did not receive a receipt.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois

27-16-28

THE VITO MARCANTONIO MEMORIAL
1484 FIRST AVENUE • NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK • RHinelander 4-6450

Miriam S. Marcantonio, Honorary Chairman
Arthur Schutzer, Secretary

March 21, 1955

Dear Friend:

There will be an important meeting of the Vito Marcantonio Memorial on

THURSDAY, MARCH 31, 1955
at
247 East 116th. St.
at 8 P.M.

The agenda will include:

ELECTION OF PERMANENT OFFICERS
(President, Vice President, Honorary President, Treasurer, Secretary, Recording Secretary)

ELECTION OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS
(Not less than 10 nor more than 25 members to be elected to the Board)

PROGRESS REPORT ON PROJECT FOR PUBLISHING EXCERPTS FROM SPEECHES BY CONGRESSMAN VITO MARCANTONIO.

27-16-31

Please make every effort to be present. Your participation is urgently necessary. I shall look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,
Arthur Schutzer
Arthur Schutzer
Secretary

264AS:fc

[Marcantonio Mem.]

March 28, 1955

Mrs. Louise Berman
Vito Marcantonio Memorial
1484 First Avenue
New York 21, N.Y.

My dear Mrs. Berman:

I have been very much disappointed, as I know you have been, over the returns for the Marcantonio Memorial. This is an inexplicable era.

I shall not come out for the meeting because I am avoiding night excursions, but you know of my interest, and if there is any particular thing I can do for the movement let me know.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-16.33

[Marcantonio] [1955]

THE VITO MARCANTONIO MEMORIAL
1484 FIRST AVENUE • NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK • RHinelander 4-6450

Miriam S. Marcantonio, Honorary Chairman
Arthur Schutzer, Secretary

27-16-29

Dear Dr. Du Bois -

Arthur Schutzer and I want you to know that to date your letter has grossed an income of $2545.20. Our expenses were $1670.09 so the net income is $875.11. Another $250 has been promised on the basis of your letter, so we will top $1000.

We appreciate your help so much and we hope to see you and Shirley on March 31st

With cordial greetings to you both -

Sincerely, Louise Berman

[Marcantonio Mem.] [1955]

THE VITO MARCANTONIO MEMORIAL
1484 FIRST AVENUE • NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK • RHinelander 4-6450

Miriam S. Marcantonio, Honorary Chairman
Arthur Schutzer, Secretary

27-16-34

Dear Miss Hyman —

Thank you for your letter with the $1 from Mr. Slezak. We have written our thanks to him and sent him receipts for $5 and $1 expressing regret at our oversight.

Sincerely,

Louise R. Berman

264

This is a Humanitarian Program, under supervision of Consecrated Christian Teachers, offering free tuition, board and lodging, from Grammar School through college, to needy colored students, whose parents are unable to pay for their training, who are willing to LIVE ON THEIR HONOR ACCORDING TO MY TEACHING, and enter some form of service that will enhance the happiness of mankind. Dr. J.Q.A. Martin, MS.D., F.R.C., Pres.-Founder

Martin Guidance Mission

~~R. F. D. 4~~ August 1,1955

NEW BERN, NORTH CAROLINA

Dr.W.E.B.DuBois
Care National Guardian
17 Murray Street
New York,N.Y.

42-1A-73

As a minister,I am attempting to erect Martin Guidance Mission for underprivileged children,beginning on the college level. I am very much interested in your publications,dealing with African Negroes.My aim is to have a miniature Pan African Congress.Therefore,I am writing you with the view to obtaining a list of your publications as sources for such information,when the Mission is ready for the reception of students.

Thanking you in advance,I am

Very sincerely yours,

J.Q.A. Martin

J.Q.A.Martin

42-19-116

The Rosery
St. George,
Grenada,
May 4, 1955.

My Dear DuBois — I don't suppose you know that this year marks the 30th Anniversary of my membership of the Legislative Council of Grenada. I have been honoured by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, England, for the record-breaking event. Thirty years of unbroken membership in the same seat is said to constitute a record for the Dominions and so-called Colonial Empire.

Friends of mine are getting up a brochure, "Tribute", to mark the event and I would like you to contribute something to it. As I was telling Henry Moon, I was with you and the N. A. A. C. P from early, the Johnsons, Weldon and Rosamund and so on, and was literally the Association's representative out here, working up interest and collecting funds, in the Dr. Sweet and Scottsboro boys question.

The more I ponder over "the upturning turn", as I call it, of awful affairs in the world of today, the more I appreciate your prophetic insight when very early you said "The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the Color Line." See the role of destiny ~~[illegible]~~ which Asia has been externally pushed on to play.

Write something for "Tributes" and ask Shirley to help. God willing I hope to be in New York before the end of the year. Federation of the British West Indies - a new Coloured Nation. - is rapidly shaping into reality.

Yours as ever,

T. A. Marryshow,

42/1A/26

T. A. MARRYSHOW, OUR GREAT OLD MAN AND ELDER STATESMAN, PRINCE OF WEST INDIAN JOURNALISTS.

By H. Hudson Phillips, Alderman of Port-of-Spain.

(From "The Trinidad Sunday Guardian" March, 13 1955.)

Today, the 13th March, marks the completion of thirty years continuous membership of the Grenada Legislative Council on the part of the Honourable Theophilus Albert Marryshow, C.B.E. I am sure that there are several persons in this colony, in other West Indian Islands, and, indeed in many other parts of the world who would like to congratulate Mr Marryshow on his unique distinction.

It was in 1925, as a result of the recommendations of the Major Wood (later Lord Halifax) Commission that some measure of representation on the Legislative Councils in Crown Colonies in the British West Indies was first granted. Since then, from the first election in Grenada, Mr. Marryshow has, without a break in continuity, represented the Town of St. George in his island home on the Legislative Council despite many keenly and sometimes bitterly contested elections.

This record is probably unparalleled in the British Commonwealth of Nations; and I venture to think outside of Great Britain only. It is certainly the more impressive as Mr. Marryshow has during the whole of this long period been serving his colony and the West Indies not merely well but with commendable level-headedness, great success and extraordinary distinction.

Many of us would like to greet this Grand Old Man as our one and only truly Elder Statesman, and to say to him today "*Ad multos annos*". We would wish to express the hope that not only he may be spared to be with us for many a year; but that he may live to see the realisation of all his hope—a United West Indies, a British Caribbean Nation, before he sings his final *Nunc Dimitts* and be no more.

It is now a little over forty years that Mr. Marryshow has attained to the status of a distinguished West Indian and famous journalist. Certainly for a generation, three decades and more, he has held a prominent place among British Colonial Statesmen and Politicians. There is no gainsaying the fact that wherever there are people of colour, in the United States of America, in the West Indies, in Africa and in India, his writings and utterances have been noted and respected with almost messianic veneration.

It is not, however, by mere chance that "Uncle Teddy"—as he is now affectionately termed—has attained to his present stature. It is only too true that he had the good fortune to be endowed bountifully and in excellent measure with faculties bestowed on few mortals. But Marryshow in early life underwent a rigid discipline before he first blossomed out to be a West Indian celebrity in 1914.

Born in St. George's, Grenada, about 1887, sixty-seven years ago, Theophilus Albert Marryshow received the benefit of a thoroughly good and practical education in the St. George's Wesleyan School, in the Wesley Guild and in the Wesleyan Sunday School. Soon he was apprenticed as a young compositor in a printing office, became a reporter, and in quick time graduated as a journalist armed with a most trenchant and eloquent pen and a keen insight.

Marryshow served his articles under William Galway Donovan, a fearless West Indian Journalist, the Editor and Propietor of a popular journal in Grenada bearing the impressive title "The Federalist and Grenada People". The paper—which had the motto "A naked freeman is nobler than a gilded slave"—enjoyed a wide circulation in Grenada, Trinidad, St. Vincent and St. Lucia.

Its policy some eighty years ago was Federation of the British West Indies and the abolition of Crown Colony Rule. Donovan, who had some Irish blood in his veins, was always, like a true Irishman, inveighing against the Government, against Governors and Government Officials, frequently found himself in Court for libel and sedition, and deemed it an honour to have suffered fine and imprisonment for his convictions.

It is under the feet of such a Gamaliel that the young Marryshow sat, but, like Paul, he was destined to emerge a bigger, greater, and more famous person than his Mentor.

Under the aegis of the Wesleyan Church in Grenada in the early part of this century there used to be a Grenada Literary and Debating Society—a cultural organisation with several branches. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the Honourable John Carberry, now Chief Justice of Jamaice, was also a member of the Society in its halcyon days.

As a young man Marryshow was a member of every branch. He took the Grenada Literary League and Debating Society with its manifold activities most seriously. In it Marryshow developed his many talents and became a first class debater, a good musician, a fine singer, an inimitable raconteur, a very fine essayist and a man with a most enviable knowledge of literature.

He is one of the best read men you can hope to meet and he is never at a loss for an apt quotation. He is a most versatile orator; he can with great facility descend from polished English to naked "creolese" and is a past master at playing on the emotions of any crowd. He can too tell the most droll and amusing stories and regale you with the quaintest expressions.

For example, asked recently in Grenada by Her Royal Highness the Princess Margaret how often he had visited Buckingham Palace, he courteoulsy said "Five times, five times m'am; and when I say five times, I mean five times not out." The significance of the "not out" was not lost on Her Royal Highness.

Recently we tried to tease him about a certain politician who entertained misgivings as regards his (Marryshow's) curious close relations with a certain Governor. Marryshow promptly remarked: "What you see happening is nothing to this old Rock of Gibraltar. The Governor, Lady Y and I, happen to be good and fast friends; not even tissue paper can get in betwwen us. As a matter of fact, I am not given to racial prejudice against good white people, and here we do need some of them".

To be honoured with his company, his conversation, his anecdotes and indescribable fount of humour and philosophy of life is an experience and a treat. In so many ways T. A. M. reminds one of the Great Abraham Lincoln.

Lincoln, it will be remembered, had an inexhaustible repertoire of quaint stories and a humour with which he often would regale his War Cabinet during the dark days of the American Civil War. Though he did not have the advantage of a formal College or University education, Lincoln towered above Stanton, Seward, Blair, Douglas and others of his colleagues and contemporaries, the fiinest products of the scholarship of New England.

The same thing is true and has been true of Marryshow during the past thirty years. Like a Colossus he yet doth bestride our small West Indian World! He is yet a Rupert in debate and a force to be reckoned with in any conference.

As a grown up young man he encouraged and inspired numbers of us, young Grenadians, with a love of the fine arts and of service; and I have never knownhim to admire anything but the British Way of Life. It must, in justice, be recorded that during his adolescence and early manhood, Marryshow was a member of a very wealthy Portugese family by the name of Franco. His connections with that family left a great mark on his character. He hates no one and has no prejudices, and has always been grateful for the assistance the family gave him in preparing for his life work. "Marryshow the Mediator" has always tried to build bridges of understanding in cases of ill-will between opposing politicians and parties.

If Marryshow is now a poor man it is true to say he could have been rich if he had not been so prodigal and unselfish in spending a fortune and his own talents in the cause of Representative Government and Federation for the West Indies.

In and about 1913, fully prepared and finely equipped for the practice of his profession as a Journalist, Marryshow purchased a printing press and founded "The West Indian" newspaper. "The West Indian" became within a year a thundering success through his attractive journalism, and was for two decades under his editorship the most influential, feared and respected journal in the British West Indies.

Woe betide the erring Crown Colony Government which fell foul of the broad net of West Indian democracy weaved by Marryshow! "The West Indian" was no respector of persons and laid low with impunity Governor, Administrator and Colonial Treasurer under its favourite slogan "X must go." Marryshow proudly reckons among his "boys" many journalists and publicists scattered over the West Indies.

World War I gave Marryshow an opportunity for service of which he did not fail to avail himself to the utmost. No West Indian was more tireless in the War efforts of those days. He was without a doubt the first to advocate the formation of a British West Indies Regiment. But that was to be a means to an end. He conceived the idea that, through common scarifices on the battlefield on the part of the West Indies with the rest of the Empire and of the world, a elaim to rights of freedom could impressively be made, a united West Indies would be born, a West Indian Dominion having the the active sympathy and support of Britain and the other Dominions.

His suggestion of a British West Indies Regiment in 1914 was turned down by Lord Kitchener and the War Office. Persistence, however, on the part of Marryshow and the then Governor of the Windward Islands, Sir George Basil Haddon-Smith, met its reward.

In September, 1915, the First Contingent of the British West Indies Regiment left the Caribbean for Seaford, England, followed in November of the same year by a Second Contingent. Later the First Battalinons of the Regiment were transferred to Egypt where, as well as in Palestine and East Africa, France and Italy, the sons of these islands saw active service side by side with sons of Britain and the rest of the Empire.

Between 1914 and 1918 Marryshow was Britain's greatest Recruiting Sergeant in the West Indies, and exhorted the people of these parts to make their own contribution, even the supreme sacrifice itself, in making the world safe for democracy.

His next campaign was to procure for the British West Indies some measure of Democracy. To that end in 1917 he founded the Grenada Representative Government Association, and he enlisted the writer as Secretary and as his adjutant. I served for four years and can bear testimony to his sacrifices, his courage and indomitable will, and his resolute exertions in the cause.

He visited sister colonies and encouraged the formation of militant associations on the Grenada patern. He made several voyages to New York and to Downing Street, with the result that in 1922 the Wood Commission was appointed. Consequent on the recommendations of the Commission some measure of representative government was granted the British West Indies in 1925. Then and not till then did Marryshow choose to be a member of the Grenada Legislative Council as an Elected Member after he had spurned many offers of a Governor's nomination.

Mr. Marryshow's continued efforts and sacrifices in behalf of Federation and a greater measure of representation are too well known for recaptitulation. No West Indian—or perhaps I may venture to say no colonial politician—is better known to the leading British politicians of all parties than he. He has known intimately and has continued to be on intimate terms with every surviving Secretary and Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies since 1921.

He is truly a West Indian citizen as popular in Kingston, Jamaica, or in Bridgetown or Port-of-Spain as he is in his native Grenada. His loyalty to the Throne and Person of Her Most Gracious Majesty may be termed proverbial. No Governor or Official was ever as concerned as Marryshow was over the success of the visit of Her Majesty the Queen to Jamaica in 1953 or the tour of Her Royal Highness the Princess Margaret . And all in his solicitude for the advancement of the West Indies as a British Dominion.

And now after forty years and more of sustained and devoted service to the West Indies and the British Commonwealth at the highest level, Theophilus Albert Marryshow continues to be the bouyant patriot, shrewd journalist, and big hearted and astute politician he ever was.

His is yet the consuming desire and ambition for a West Indian Dominion. Growing physically old in the cause, with mental faculties substantially unimpaired, this "Prince of West Indian Journalists", this happy warrior, stands still ready and prepared to spend his all, to be spent and, if needs be to die in the achievement of his great ambition. It may be that 1957 might witness the fulfillment of his prophecy, the realisation of his dream: "A Federated West Indies with Self-Government, a British Caribbean Nation, small in size but equal with the best" He continues to serve and to do battle, counting not the cost.

And so I salute him today, I acclaim him and take leave of him, passing him on to others who may know how best to rejoice in the fruits of his life's work and to honour him as their own.

THIRTY YEARS CONTINUOUS EFFORT.

(From "The West Indian" March 13, 1955).

Sir,—Today, March 13, 1955, marks the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Hon. T. A. Marryshow's membership of the Legislative Council of Grenada, which is an important event to us in the British Caribbean and which, I am sure, will be taken notice of beyond these shores.

I am, as it were, summoning the unrecorded voice of our history to join with me in singing the *Te Deum* on the hiltops to the greatest son which this century has given to Grenada and the British Caribbean Islands as a whole.

Thirty years of continuous effort for our sake in course of which there were bitter election contests, are more than sufficient to crown a glorious and an enviable career in the service of any people.

But when to that is added Mr. Marryshow's attributes as poet, literary stylist, orator and singer, then such a combination, rare in its many-sideness, makes him not only an outstanding man of parts, but entitles him to our profound respect.

It is rare that the great are honoured in their lifetime, but one could feel sure that Mr. Marryshow has already shaken hands with posterity and that whenever the history of the West Indies shall have been written by an impartial but inspired historian, his name shall surely find an honoured place.

Please let me through your columns assure Mr. Marryshow of the gratitude of West Indians to him for the inspiration he has been to them. As one who lived more than 25 years in the United States I am able to speak of the large number of West Indian exiles beyond these shores who hold for him their pure affection and constant esteem.

Nor is esteem for him in America confined to Negro West Indians over there. Most of the leading American Negroes in that country know of his work for Negro advancement in general and of willing the help he gave in earlier years at birth of the Negro Rennaisance.

Now that, as it would seem, we are standing at the cross-roads of human destiny, it should be the prayer of all right-thinking West Indians that Mr. Marryshow would be spared to place himself at our disposal with his seasoned and ripe experience whenever the need may arise.

I think Mr. Marryshow should find satisfaction in the fact that he is among the fortunate few of our people who could look back to a long past, fruitful of service and sacrifice, all for increasing and lasting benefit to generations yet unborn.

I hope that Mr. Marryshow will have time to compile a collection of his speeches, especially those in his fighting days. Times were that when he spoke in promotion or in defence of great causes, to quote a great American poet:—

> We, listening, learned what makes the might of words,
> Manhood to back them, constant as a star;
> His voice rammed home our cannon, edged our swords,
> And sent our boarders shouting; shroud and spar
> Heard him and stiffened; the sails heard, and wooed
> The winds with loftier mood.
>
> In our dark hours he manned our guns again;
> Renammed ourselves from his own manhood's store;
> Pride, honour, country, throbbed through all his strain;
> And shall we praise? God's praise was his before;
> And on our futile laurels he looks down,
> Himself our bravest crown.

—REGINALD CLYNE.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH FROM GOVERNMENT FILE.

The Honourable Theophilus Albert Marryshow. Born 1887. Received primary education at the St. George's Methodist School. He started life as an office boy at the age of 16 in the then *Federalist and Grenada People*, and was its sub-editor, feature writer and book reviewer at 19. Held his first editorship at the age of twenty-two in the *St. George's Chronicle and Grenada Gazette*, which was established in Grenada as far back as the year 1784. It ceased publication in 1914. In 1915 he was co-founder of the "West Indian which he later owned outright and edited it till 1924 when due to ill-health, he retired from active journalism. On retirement was called "The Prince of West Indian Journalists". On formation of the British Caribbean Press Association, was made an Honorary Member for life. Was prime mover around 1905 in spreading branches of Literary and Debating Societies in the island. The movement was adopted in other islands later. After years of preparation in municipal life, he took a leading part in politics, and in West Indian affairs generally, with emphasis on the right of all West Indian people to elect their own chosen representatives in inter-colonial legislatures. Addressed important gatherings in Great Britain and the U.S.A. A powerful and convincing speaker. Went on a one-man mission to the Colonial Office, England, in June 1921, when through Mr. Winston Churchill, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, he was granted an interview with Mr. E. E. L. Wood, then Under-Secretary. As a result of his persuasion, the Secretary of State for the Colonies appointed a Commission which was sent to the West Indies to enquire into constitutional reform. The Wood Commission, as it was called, comprised Mr. E. F. L. Wood Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Mr. Ormsby Gore, now Lord Halifax and Lord Harlech respectively. The report of this Commission was favourable, and as a result Grenada and the rest of the Windward Islands, the Leeward Islands and Trinidad gained a first measure of representative government in the right to popular election of a quota of members to their Legislative Councils. He had three more interviews in course of years with Colonial Office Chiefs, and visited Britain several times on Parliamentary and Labour Conferences. Was entertained at Chequers by Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald. Through his ceaseless agitation in press and on platform, there has been steady constitutional development in the West Indies. Was at his best when Capt. Cipriani of Trinidad joined up with him on constitutional causes. Is known throughout the West Indies as *The Father of West Indies Federation*, having been an ardent advocate of the closer association of the Islands of the West Indies all his life. Led campaigns in all West Indian Colonies with that object in view. Was created C.B.E., in 1944 for public services rendered to the West Indies. Was an official representative at the Coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II in Westminister Abbey. He has travelled widely in Europe and the United States of America. Was the first Deputy President of the Grenada Legislative Council, 1951 to 1954, and Member of the Executive Council 1942 to 1954. He has been sitting as Elected Member for the Capital Town of St. George's since the inauguration of the new Legislative Council with Elected Members in 1925. His unbroken period of service, thirty years in the same seat was said to constitute a Parliamentary record for the Dominions and Empire. He has been referred to in influential quarters in Britain as *The Elder Statesman of the West Indies.*

House of Commons
March 25th, 1955.

Tribute

My sincere congratulations to you on the 30th Anniversary of your membership of the Legislative Council of Grenada.

It is a fine record of representation, equalled by few others in the Commonwealth; the more remarkable when the representation is for the same constituency.

42-14-120

I have known you for a very long time -even since my interest in West Indian affairs began more than twenty years ago, and I have always appreciated your social and political work for the courage and continuity of it over that time.

It gives me great pleasure to write to you in this strain in your proud moment. You have always been energetic, even restive at times, for the well-being of your people, and though impatient and a little too outspoken on occasions, you have consistently urged reforms and improvements, not only in the life of the important island to which you belong, but for the benefit of the West Indies as a whole.

I can bear testimony to the fact that you are well and favourably known among leading parliamentarians in London where your voice has been heard in important Conferences on behalf of the things you believe in.

Your pioneer service deserve ready recognition and therefore I am glad I can show at this time some acknowlegement of your good work.

Yours sincerely,

A. Creech-Jones.
~~From~~ former Secretary of state
for the Colonies.

House of Commons
London, S. W. 1
March 28th, 1955.

My Dear Mr. Marryshow,

It is indeed a pleasure to send you my very best good-wishes and to forward the tribute which is sincerely meant.

Tribute to Mr. Marryshow, C. B. E.,

It is both a privilege, and a pleasure, to join in the Tribute to Mr. Marryshow on the completion of Thirty years of devoted service as a Member of the Legislative Council of Grenada.

1925-1955. These have been crucial years in the development of British Colonial Policy. They have witnessed the emergence of a clear goal-that of transforming an Empire into a Commonwealth of equal partners. And, as an essential part of that task-the guiding of the peoples in the Colonies along the road towards responsible democratic self-government.

This task has called for qualities of constructive leadership in the Colonies no less than in Britain. And we have been fortunate that men like Mr. Marryshow have come forward to work patiently, and consistently, for the realisation of this ideal.

Mr. Marryshow's sincerity, and friendliness, have won the trust of all who have been privileged to work with him.

We hope that he will be spared to see the Advent of a Caribbean Dominion. That will be a fitting crown to a lifetime of devoted service to His people. My sincere congratulations and good wishes.

James Griffiths.

Secretary of State for the
Colonies in the last Labour
Government.

42-17-121

BARBADOS HOUSE PAYS TRIBUTE TO MARRYSHOW

The Barbados House of Assemby recently paid tribute to Hon. T. A Marryshow, "Father of the Modern Concept of West Indian Federation" on 30 years of unbroken membership in the Legislative Council.

In moving the Resolution for the House to offer "its warmest congratulations" to this veteran West Indian Statesman, Mr. J. Cameron Tudor said that the fact that the people of Grenada had seen fit over 30 unbroken years to reward him with their confidence which he still held to this present day was an indication not only of his integrity as a legislator but also the influence which he had been able to wield not only in Grenada but in the Caribbean as a whole.

Mr. Tudor added: "Now that we are on the eve of federation, it is not too much to hope that when the federal structure has been established a place may be found for him not only to adorn that structure but to assist with maturity and distinction the continued growth of our nation."

In the years to come, he hoped that many may say like Alfred Duff Cooper,-

"Fear not kind friend if Spring be past,
And Evening shadows fall,
These years shall be although the last,
The loveliest of all."

42-1A-122

CHIEF JUSTICE'S CHAMBERS,
ST. GEORGE'S,
GRENADA, B. W. I
29th March, 1955.

Dear Mr. Marryshow,

Please permit me to offer you my sincerest congratulations and those of my wife for the completion by you of 30 years continuous service as an elected member of the Legislative Council of Grenada. They way has been hard and difficult, but it nevertheless brought forth from you the best which would not have emerged from a man of less tenacity, less strength of character or of less enduring skill. What others only found out afterwards, you with pregnant conviction were always convinced could be achieved. When the history shall be written your name will stand out among the pioneering few, who with mounting effort strained every sinew to effect a West Indian unity.

We wish you good health and long life. We are sure you will never regret the personal sacrifices you made for your beloved Grenada and for the West Indies.

Believe me to be

Yours sincerely

Donald Jackson

Sir Donald Jackson
Chief Justice
Windward and Leeward Islands.

42-1A-123

Our deep black
Chief Justice
of today

THE LABOUR PARTY

TRANSPORT HOUSE SMITH SQUARE LONDON SWI
TELEPHONE: VICTORIA 6434
TELEGRAMS LABREPCOM SOWEST LONDON

SECRETARY: MORGAN PHILLIPS
NATIONAL AGENT: A. L. WILLIAMS
CHIEF WOMAN OFFICER: MARY.E. SUTHERLAND CBE JP

London, 30th March, 1955.

MP/JY

Mr. T. A. Marryshow, C. B. E.,
The Rosery
St, George,
Grenada,
West Indies.

42-1A-124

Dear Mr. Marryshow,

I have recently learned that during this month you have celebrated your thirtieth anniversary as a Member of the Legislative Council of Grenada, and on behalf of our Party I should like to send you our warmest congratulations on this achievement.

Your pioneering work in labour and social matters on behalf of the people of your island must have made a great contribution to the development of this colony over the past thiry years. It is largely due to the unselfish efforts of people like yourself that life in the colonial territories has changed so radically during this period, and we of the Labour Party are the first to acknowlege the value of such efforts. We hope that they will serve as an example to the younger generation and that with your assistance still greater progress will be made in the future.

We send you all our good wishes for a long continuation of your important activities and our sincere appreciation for your life of service.

Yours sincerely,

Morgan Phillips

Secretary of The
British Labour Party.

42-1A-117

21st April, 1955.

From Professor W. A. Lewis, B.Com., M.A., Ph.D., L. H. D.,
Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Social Studies
in the University of Manchester

T.A.Marryshow is the doyen of West Indian democratic statesmen. I can remember his name as far back as I can remember almost anything, since I can remember the stir created by his activities when I was only about five years old. His work in Grenada gave him fame even in St. Lucia, and penetrated even to this toddler, who at that time was probably sucking his thumb.

He took the lead in the agitation which led to the appointment of Lord Halifax's commission in 1921, which in turn started Trinidad and the Windward Islands on the road to self-government. The political climate of those days is hardly believable now. As a result of the Commission, one quarter of the members of the Legislatures were elected as from 1924 on a very restricted franchise. Our rulers in those days thought this an awful step, which might possibly wreck our finances and ruin our credit on the Stock Exchange. They were rude and supercillious to West Indians who dared to demand political progress, and they did what they could to silence them through economic pressures. It took courage to continue the struggle, and it is because of T.A's reputation for courage that even this little toddler in a different island heard of him.

In those days most West Indian politicians thought primarily in middle class terms. They wanted for their children the jobs which Englishmen were getting, and they wanted the middle classes to share in the power which the planters were exercising through the Colonial Office nominees. They would have been horrified by adult suffrage. T.A was never in this category. He was a genuine worker's leader, advocating in Grenada in 1920 policies which no statesman of comparable stature could be found to espouse in Jamaica or in Barbados until nearly twenty years later. Nowadays the "welfare state," trade unions, workmen's compensation, adult suffrage and so forth are taken for granted throughout the West Indies, but many men have been ruined, or sent to jail, in my short lifetime, for advocating these. I don't know how T.A escaped jail for sedition. It is the regular road to the highest political office under the British Colonial flag - think of Nehru, De Valera, Bustamante, Nkrumah, or the newly elected Prime Minister of the Sudan. I suppose that his political following in Grenada was so enormous - it was nearly unanimous - that no Governor dared to lay hands of him. But perhaps if a Governor had had more courage T.A would have been a Prime Minister long ago.

I doubt whether he would have been satisfied with less than the federal premiership. Nobody now living in the West Indies has campaigned for federation for so long, or planted the passion for it in so many other hearts. He was tireless in the 1920's and 1930's in maintaining contacts with politicians in other islands, and in persuading them that federation and self-government should go together.

42-17-118

42-1A-119

Some other politicians have wavered on federation once they they got their self-government, but for T.A the vision of a united West Indian people taking their place as a nation among other nations has never faded. When federation comes it will be as much his doing as anyone else's, and no one will be made more happy than he.

The name of T.A Marryshow has been an inspiration to young West Indians for nearly forty years, standing for courage, for justice and for patriotism. I am proud to salute him for my generation.

January 18, 1955

Dr. Herbert Aptheker
Masses and Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York 3, N.Y.

My dear Aptheker:

I have received now two proposals from abroad, Hungary and Italy, with regard to my novel. I think it is time that I began active effort to see if publication is possible and where.

I would like very much to have back the chapters which you have and to talk to you about plans.

I find that the subway runs very close to your home from Grace Court, and I could come out or of course you could come here to the office.

Kindly let me hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-17-25

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · Associate Editors: HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 GRamercy 3-5145

February 9, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We are enclosing herewith our check in the sum of $2.96. This is the balance left from a total of $13.48 which covers royalty payments on your book, IN BATTLE FOR PEACE, through December 31, 1954. Of this total the sum of $10.52 has been paid to New Century Publishers, which clears up entirely your account with New Century.

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,
MASSES & MAINSTREAM, Inc.

Joseph Felshin

Joseph Felshin, Manager

JF:MB
enc.

27-17.42

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · Associate Editors: HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 GRamercy 3-5145

2/15/55

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Enclosed you will find galleys of the section of chapter 4 of your novel that is to appear in our next issue. This will be preceded by a brief editorial note describing the novel and placing this particular selection in terms of time and place and circumstances.

We are very pleased that you have given us permission to bring this to our readers.

Cordially,

Herbert Aptheker

Herbert Aptheker

27-17-23

209

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · Associate Editors: HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 GRamercy 3-5145

April 4,1955

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The enclosed letter reached this office today; we have made a copy of it for our files. You will note that the writer of the letter makes the false assumption that we have any rights over the manuscript — actually everything printed in our magazine is copyrighted in the name of the author.

If we can be of any service to you in connection with the propesals raised in the enclosed letter, please let us know.

And welcome home! I hope you and Mrs. Du Bois are well, and had a splendid trip.

Warmest personal regards,

Cordially,

Herbert Aptheker

Herbert Aptheker

27-17-04

209

Editors: SAMUEL SILLEN and MILTON HOWARD

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 GRamercy 3-5145

April 13, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

42-117-105

We are forwarding on to you a letter received from Hungary expressing interest in your new novel, THE ORDEAL OF MANSART. We assume that they have become acquainted with the work through the chapter which appeared in the February issue of M&M.

We are writing to advise the writer that we have forwarded on his request to you.

Incidentally, have you entered into any negotiations or arrangements for the publication of this book? We are interested.

May I personally express my admiration for the very vivid and stirring chapter which appeared in M&M?

Sincerely yours,
MASSES & MAINSTREAM

Joseph Felshin

Joseph Felshin, Manager

JF:MB
enc.

April 21, 1955

42-1D-106

Mr. Joseph Felshin, Manager
Masses and Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Felshin:

I am enclosing letters which I have written to Italy and Hungary in regard to publication of my book.

As yet I have approached no publisher concerning its publication in the United States or England. I am planning to talk with Mr. Aptheker and some others soon on this point.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 GRamercy 3-5145

4/27/55

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Your letter, dated April 18, has just come to my attention, for I was down in North Carolina (in connection with the Junius Scales Smith Act case -- he was given a six-year sentence and is now in prison) for about two weeks.

I am happy to learn that you have already heard from two countries concerning your BLACK FLAME. I will be happy to come to your office with the remaining chapters, but would like just a few days to catch up with my work here. In a short time I will call you and arrange to meet you at your convenience in your office.

Please give my warmest regards to Mrs. Du Bois.

Cordially,

Herbert Aptheker

Herbert Aptheker

27-17-26

209

Editors: SAMUEL SILLEN and MILTON HOWARD

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 GRamercy 3-5145

May 16, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

27-10-78

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We were happy to mail you a copy of Steve Nelson's new book, THE 13TH JUROR, and hope that you have found the opportunity to read it.

Would it be possible to receive from you an expression of opinion about this book? It would be most appreciated.

Sincerely yours,
MASSES & MAINSTREAM

Joseph Felshin

Joseph Felshin, Mgr.

JF:MB

209

May 18, 1955

Mr. Joseph Felshin
Masses and Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York 3, N.Y.

27-10-79

Dear Mr. Felshin:

I was glad to have a copy of Steve Nelson's new book, THE 13TH JUROR, but I have not yet had a chance to read it.

When I do I shall be very glad to write you.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

German

Editors: SAMUEL SILLEN and MILTON HOWARD

Masses & Mainstream
832 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 3 GRamercy 3-5145

42-1A-126

June 8, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We are enclosing herewith a letter from Dietz Verlag of Germany in which, as you see, they expressed interest in your novel, a chapter of which appeared in our February issue under the title "The Ordeal of Mansart."

We wrote to Dietz Verlag advising that the novel had not yet been published and that we were forwarding their inquiry to you. Please let us know if we can be of any further service.

Sincerely yours,
MASSES & MAINSTREAM
Joseph Felshin
Joseph Felshin, Mgr.

JF:MB
enc.

Editors: SAMUEL SILLEN and MILTON HOWARD

Masses & Mainstream
832 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 3 GRamercy 3-5145

August 24, 1955

42/1A/5

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We are enclosing herewith our check in the sum of \$1.43 covering royalties on your book, IN BATTLE FOR PEACE, during the first half of 1955. In that period we sold 8 copies of the \$1.00 edition, upon which a royalty of 10¢ per copy accrues, and 2 copies of the cloth edition, on which a royalty of 31¼¢ accrues.

Sincerely yours,
MASSES & MAINSTREAM
Joseph Felshin
Joseph Felshin, Manager

JF:MB
enc.

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · Associate Editors: HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream
832 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 3 GRamercy 3-5145

42-1A-83

11/22/55

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your note of November 21. The news it brought concerning the Univ of Washington professor is somewhat disquieting -- I do hope the poor man does not suffer because I spoke to his students for 45 minutes!

M&M plans to make a little box out of the item from Czechoslovakia re your book, IN BATTLE FOR PEACE.

Cordially,
Herbert Aptheker
Herbert Aptheker

January 10, 1955

Mrs. Mary James Melish
126 Pierrepont
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mrs. Melish:

The courage which you exhibited in giving us those two jars of jelly is simply marvellous. I know that I could not duplicate it personally, but I surely appreciate it in others.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

January 31, 1955

Rev. William Howard Melish
126 Pierrpont
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. Melish:

I am wondering if you could have made for me a sketch map like the enclosed. It should be large, about six feet tall, and can be put on ordinary wrapping paper.

The lettering should be large, as on this sketch, with names like NILE, SAHARA, MOHAMMENDAN, BANTU, in red and the other place names large and in black, so that the thing can be seen across the room.

If this can be done it will greatly help my lecture.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

41-16-27

October 1, 1955

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

About a year ago I visited you to ask your permission to look over any graphic material you would care to make available to me for possible inclusion in the pictorial history of the Negro in America which Arna Bontemps and I had begun to research. You were about to leave the city for some time and asked me to get in touch with you later. My picture research on the book is nearing our goal now and I'd like to renew my request. Would it be possible for me to borrow photos, drawings, broadsides, leaflets or other graphic material that would contribute to our project?

Everything would be returned rapidly and in good order, of course. Photo-copies would be made of the items borrowed, and the source would be indicated in the text.

Please forgive this intrusion on your time. I'd appreciate a reply at your convenience, for the deadline of the publisher is only 5 weeks off.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Milton Meltzer

Milton Meltzer
Hoag Road
Ossining, N.Y.

= Ans Oct 6, 55

2119 West Cloverdale
Seattle 6, Washington
February 26, 1955
Avalon 0835

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

It is a pleasure to salute you on your 87th birthday.

Many of us here in the Northwest hope you and your wife will honor us with your presense again.

As one National Guardian reader out here I thank you for your informative and challenging contributions to our paper.

Warmly yours,
Lyle Mercer

27-15-8

March 23, 1955

Mr. Lyle Mercer
2119 West Cloverdale
Seattle 6, Washington

Dear Mr. Mercer:

Thank you for your kind greeting on my 87th birthday.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-15-9

January 31 , 1955

Mr. Ivor Montagu
Old Timbers
Verdure Close
Garston
Watford, Herts.
England

Dear Mr. Montagu:

On January 26 General MacArthur, celebrating his seventy-fifth birthday at Los Angeles, made the speech which, as reported by THE HERALD TRIBUNE, is enclosed.

27-16-26

This is the first time that a great American military leader has denounced war. I write to suggest that this speech be translated into all modern languages and distributed over the world.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

MONTHLY REVIEW

66 BARROW STREET
NEW YORK 14, N. Y.

(Haiti article)

May 18, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
23 West 26th Street,
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Many thanks for letting us see the enclosed. Unfortunately, for reasons of lack of space and a large accumulated backlog of unpublished material, we are unable to accept any additional articles at this time.

With all good wishes,

Fraternally yours,

Leo Huberman

Leo Huberman

264 EDITORS • • LEO HUBERMAN • • PAUL M. SWEEZY

[Moss]

42-1A-72

Aug. 9, 1955

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your kind note of Aug. 3.

You will be pleased to know our fund raising campaign for the film got off to a good start. The two school teachers who volunteered to help us arranged a party last week and collected $650. They are planning a series of house parties of this type. I am confident that their parties will be a success for these teachers seem to share my determination to get this film finished before the year is out.

There will be a few more questions I will want to ask you but they can wait until all my material is assembled.

Dr. Cobbs sends his warm regards and asked me to tell you he is very pleased with the interest that has been awakend in our project.

Congratulations to Shirley. Please tell her I could turn out films as fast as she turns out books if I didn't have to spend so much time finding the cash. I'm certain, however, that the day will come when an investment in my type of film will be a normal part of business.

We are enjoying our house very much. It is well insulated so it is comfortable despite the heat and it is high enough up to be above the smog.

My wife sends her regards.

Sincerely yours,

Carlton

Moss

January 6, 1955.

M. Charles Palant, Secretary
Mouvement Contre le Racisme,
  L'Antisemitisme et pour La Paix
10, Rue de Chateaudun
Paris-IX
France

My dear Sir:

Last May you wrote me concerning a contribution to your "Journée Nationale".

I have not had a chance since then to correspond with you, but if your journal is still circulating and you wish an article, I will be glad to send it to you.

Meantime, will you kindly send me a sample copy of the journal, and tell me about how long you would like the article, and on what subject?

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-8-40

MOUVEMENT CONTRE LE RACISME, L'ANTISEMITISME ET POUR LA PAIX

91, rue du Faubourg Saint-Denis, PARIS-X^{e}

Tél. : TAI. 48-11 et 45-26

Paris, le 14 Mai 1955

PRESIDENT :
M. **Léon LYON-CAEN**, Premier Président Honoraire de la Cour de Cassation.

COMITE D'HONNEUR :
MM.
D'ARBOUSSIER, conseiller de l'Union Française
Maurice de BARRAL, Grand Officier de la Légion d'Honneur
Albert BAYET, président de la Ligue de l'Enseignement
Emile BURE †, journaliste
Mme Edmond CASSIN
Aimé CESAIRE, poète
Robert CHAMBEIRON
Raymond CHARPENTIER
le Docteur Jean DALSACE
Louis DAQUIN, metteur en scène
le Professeur DESOILLE
Mme Marthe DUPUY, conseil juridique
Adolphe ESPIARD, secrétaire général du Comité Franco-Malgache
Yves FARGE †, ancien ministre
le Professeur HADAMARD, membre de l'Institut
Georges HUISMAN, conseiller d'Etat
Joseph KESSEL, homme de lettres
Alain LE LEAP, secrétaire général de la C.G.T.
Mme Jeanne LEVY, professeur à la Faculté de Médecine
Jean de LORME
Louis MARIN, ancien ministre
Amiral MUSELIER, ancien chef des Forces Françaises Navales Libres
Jean PAINLEVE
Pierre PARAF, homme de lettres
le Professeur Marcel PRENANT
Mme Françoise ROSAY, artiste dramatique
Armand SALACROU, de l'Académie Goncourt.
Marc SANGNIER †, député, président d'honneur du M.R.P.
André SPIRE, poète
le Professeur VERMEIL

Cher Monsieur,

Le I2 Juin prochain à Paris, au Palais de la Mutualité, se tiendra une Journée Nationale contre le racisme, l'antisémitisme et pour la Paix, pour laquelle un appel vient d'être lancé par d'éminentes personnalités de notre pays, représentant les milieux politiques, religieux et sociaux les plus divers.

Ce serait un grand honneur pour les antiracistes de France si vous vouliez bien adresser aux milliers de délégués qui seront réunis à cette occasion, un message de solidarité.

Dans cet espoir, nous vous prions de croire, Cher Monsieur, à notre parfaite considération.

Le Président

Léon LYON-CAEN

L. Lyon-Caen

27-16-24

Against Racism

May 31, 1955

Mr. Leon Lyon-Caen
Mouvement Contre Le Racisme,
L'Antisemitisme et pour La Paix
91, rue du Faubourg Saint-Denis
Paris Xe
France

My dear Mr. Lyon-Caen:

I have your letter of May 14th and wish to greet through you the meeting against racism and anti-semitism and for peace.

It is a matter of deep pain for me to see my country, the United States, leading so strongly the war movement after the terrible lapse into murder and destruction which has characterised this century.

27-16-25

I want, however, to assure you who are meeting today that the wish for war is not universal in the United States. Large, and I think increasing numbers of American citisens see the dangers of war and see its causes in race prejudice. In every way we can we are asking for the objects that you are striving for and I am sure that if we keep on with our efforts success is bound to follow.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[Movement for Col. Fr.]

January 10, 1955

42-1A-18

Mr. Douglas G. Rogers, General Secretary
Movement for Colonial Freedom
318, Regents Park Road
London, N.3

Dear Mr. Rogers:

I am sending you herewith an article on Pan-Africanism, which I hope can be used by the magazine, United Asia.

Sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

filed under
articles
1955

MOVIMENTO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
COMITATO ITALIANO

ROMA -- PIAZZA MONTECITORIO, 115 - TELEFONO: 687773 - 688090

LA SEGRETERIA

Roma, li 30 Novembre 1955

Prot° b.3.530/Secr./GF/lc

Chers Amis,

nous avons le plaisir de vous informer que le Mouvement Italien de la Paix tiendra son 1er Congrès National les 17 et 18 Décembre prochain à Rome.

Cette initiative ne manquera pas d'avoir une grande importance et signification, se déroulant après la Conférence de Genève en un moment où il devient de plus en plus évident que seule l'action des peuples épris de paix peut encore une fois obtenir que les négociations soient reprises, pour la solution pacifique des grands problèmes internationaux.

D'importantes couches de l'opinion publique internationale, qui espéraient que la deuxième Conférence de Genève aurait marqué un autre progrès de la détente et de l'esprit de Genève, se trouvent maintenant désorientées face à la reprise des forces qui s'opposent à tout progrès, menaçant un impossible retour à la guerre froide. C'est à nous, donc, qu'appartient d'indiquer à l'opinion publique, et en premier lieu à tous les amis du Mouvement de la Paix, les nouvelles tâches pour atteindre à une véritable détente internationale et à l'établissement d'une paix durable.

Pour cette raison nous pensons que notre Congrès devrait avoir un relief particulier du point de vue international. Déjà quelques personnalités éminentes du Conseil Mondial nous ont assuré leur participation: nous désirons maintenant inviter votre Comité à se faire représenter à notre Congrès ou, si cela vous serait impossible, à nous envoyer un message de salutation et d'appui.

En vous remerciant pour votre collaboration, nous vous prions de croire, chers Amis, à l'expression de nos sentiments amicaux.

p. Le Secrétariat
(Dr. Giorgio Fanti)

27-13-3

[Murphy]

42-1A-115

Oct. IO, 1955

Dear George:

We have your interesting letter. It outlines a good plan but to implement it these are the facts:

I. The proposal must have to do not with the complete novel but with the first part which is a complete novel in itself. It is called "The Black Mansarts" and covers the history of the American Negro from I874 to I9I4 told in fiction. The manuscript covers 4I4 letter size typed pages. It is this part and this alone which now I am placing upon the market. After this is published, it will be time to consider the second part of 465 pages and later the third part of 465 pages. They need not all have the same publisher.

2. I am ready to place the finished manuscript of the first part in the hands of any publisher ~~k~~today for his reading and judgment. If the Associated Publishers after reading are interested, they must take official action and offer me a contract in legal form. This will includea vote of their board, signed by their responsible officials. There is the possibility that a regular white publisher might join in the publication and on the basis of the one published chapter I have requests for consideration from five European publishers.

This then is the case and I should be glad to hear of further steps. Thank you for your interest

Very sincerely

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Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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Assistant Grand Secretary
4141 Indiana Avenue
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[Murphy]

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1915 14th Street, N. W.
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42-1A-112

October 11,1955

Dr.and Mrs.W.E.B.Dubois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn,New York

Dear Shirley and Doctor,

You have seen the Afro story on the passport case by now I am sure. If anything else develops in the meantime,please send it along.

Now,about the novel ~~"Tom Mansart;~~" I have talked with Mrs.Nerissa Milton, a member of the board of directors of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, and director of its office here. Mrs.Milton says the following,to my question about what she would say if we could arrange for the Association to bring out Dr.Dubois' great novel:

"Well,Mr. Murphy,you know I'm no shouting progressive and all that,but let me tell you. It is my opinion that despite the contreversey surrounding Dr. Dubois in recent years,because of his views and his fight in the courts about his passport, our people know who Dr.Dubois is,the greatest writer of our day and a literary giant who stands above controversey. That is why I think the Association would be genuinely honored to bring out this novel, and do something real big about it too,especially since we have never published anything of his and also especially since he will soon be 88 and this could be made into a tremendous literary event etc."

Mrs.Milton went on to say that I should take it up immediately with Dr. Wesley and she was sure that he would be honored also. I also discussed this with Mrs.Dorothy Porter,librarian for the Moorland Collection at Howard University. She surprised me by saying that,despite my reservations, she was certain that Rayford Logan would go down the line for it. I was under the impression that Rayford was kinda conservative etc. Dorothy made it clear, however that Rayford has plumped for Dr. on many public occasions.

Now,that is where we stand as of the moment. I have no doubt that Charlie Wesley will be happy to lead the Association into this happy union,which, in my view,can become an outstanding literary event, and get a respectable number of books sold also(I am dealing now mainly with the Negro community and the

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42-117-113

Association's broad,interracial and widely representative mailing list of 1,000 names which includes,university libraries,professors, etc. in all parts of the country.

The next thing to be considered would be the cost of producing the book. This would, in my view,depend on whether Dr. would permit the book to come out in the form of two books,500 pages each,very much as Theodore Dreiser's first edition of "An American Tragedy" was published. I lean to this,because it would mean that people could afford to pay for one copy at $5.00,with .25 for mailing,whereas a $7.50 1000-page novel,would slow up sales,though I have no doubt that many would buy that too,but I am just being practical.

In this connection, it would be well to note that the Association is not in any too good financial condition,though Mr.Albert Brooks,their business manager, and the principal of a Junior High School here, has done wonders with bringing the Association back on its financial feet. In this connection it is easy to understand that the publication of Dr.Dubois's first book by the Association would be regarded as important from many points of view,not the least of which would be the financial accruement to the Association.

Lastly, the question of cost of production brings up the question about whether theAssociation could finance the publication of let us say,the first volumne. Because I have not gone this far,waiting for Dr. to give his opinion as he indicated when I was up your way last, I cannot really say. My guess is that they would not be able to pay the bill for the first 1,000 copies and would have to wait until sales were snapped up. This would then raise the question of obtaining a loan of let us say $4,000 to take care of publishing 1,000 copies of the first edition, repaying the loan from sales. Bearing in mind that cost of production goes down rapidly beginning with the second thousand copies(This I have learned from our own publication of the History of the I.B.P.O.E.of W. by Dr.Wesley) this does not seem to me to be too big a problem of financing to handle. The fact is I have two people,with whom I am willing to discuss such a loan with,but all this waits on Dr.'s final okay on even broaching the matter to the Association etc.

So,this letter is merely to let you know that I am anxious to proceed with concrete plans,based on Dr.'s careful analysis of the situation, how he estimates the cost etc. I need not say that I am quite convinced,as I know he is, that this book must come from a Negro publisher, and the Association is the best and most highly respected such publisher in the country.

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42-19-114

None of the foregoing need in any way separate Dr. and the publishing of the book from his many friends, all of whom would move heaven and earth to have the book published from the offices of one of the progressive white publishers.

It simply means, in my view that the publication should start with a Negro publisher and then broaden out into the whole country and the world, thus bringing all the Negro people, thousands of whom, over the years, have continued to regard him as the outstanding scholar, writer and philosopher of our age.

Well, there's my story. Quite short too, yes? Let me hear from you both shortly. Keep well and know that the cry is "Forward."

Love,
George
George B. Murphy Jr.

[MURPHY]

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42-2A-107

October 20,1955

Dr.W.E.B.Dubois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn,New York

Dear Dr.W.E.B.,

Thanks for you kind letter. I have talked with Charlie Wesley since I got your reply. I have shown him a copy of my letter to you, and your letter to me,so that there is no question t hat he understands the entire picture and can come to an objective conclusion.

The thing, I believe that most impresses Charlie,is that when you first came to the conclusion that you wanted a Negro publishing firm to bring out a novel of yours, you dedided to give kind consideration to the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

I have asked Charlie to write you immediately so I will have some Idea of how to proceedd, in conjunction with whatever final plans you may determine upon.

Tentatively Charliex has said the following,before he writes you:

" I will read the manuscript; I will ask Mr.Brewer,whose manuscript judgment I have respect for, to read it, and I will ask you George, to read the manuscript."

Then, he advised me, we will pool our judgments and work out a plan for getting the work published.

All the above is for your personal knowledge, and is said to you, so that

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you and Shirley will permit us to move with dispatch and yet move with care and proper consideration of all factors.

Finally, Charlie let me know, in effect that he is the final judge of what the Association publishes, and his feeling for your leadership, in my view, leaves nothing to be desired in the way of goodwill.

Make no mistake about it, I expect to make use of whatever energies I can, to promote a finally favorable solution to this program which does honor and respect to your tremendous contribution to the intellectual, moral and courageous spirit of our people.

Love to you and Shirley,

George

[MURPHY]

42-1A-103

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October 21,1955

Dr.W.E.B.Dubois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn,New York

Dear Dr.W.E.B.,

I have instructed our publishers,the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, to send you and Shirley a complimentary copy of the History of the I.B.P.O.E.of W. by Dr.Charles H.Wesley,president of the Association and also Grand Historian of the I.B.P.O.E.of W.

I shall be most anxious to get your opinion of the book,when you find time to read it. I also inclose a brochure on the book.

All the best,

George

[Murphy]

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42-1A-131

November 5,1955

Dr.W.E.B.Dubois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn,New York

Dear Dr.W.E.B.,

Thanks for your kind note. I am happy that Charlie has taken the first step in what I hope will be a happy union for you, the Association and our people.

I am taken tentative steps in the direction of trying to secure funds from some Negro citizens of D.C. and one or two white citizens, to guarantee that the Association can finance the matter. Charlie says he doubts that this can be done,but I have other ideas. I am quite convinced that there a re folks who would be happy to put up a loan to guarantee the publication of the first novel in your trilogy.

At any rate, we're on our way now, and I can almost feel what wives must go through, the birth pangs.

All the best,

George

[Murphy, George]

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1893 Greenway, Columbus, Ohio
HARRY H. EDDICKS, Grand Recorder
1943 Christian St., Philadelphia 46, Pa.

42-1A-129

November 16,1955

Dr.W.E.B.Dubois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10,N.Y.

Dear Dr.W.E.B.,

Thanks for your kind note. Wesley's letter seems real encouraging.

I am anxious that we move a little faster,but I have to wait until the Association's readers here look at the manuscript. The important thing, according to Mrs.Milton here at the Association's office,with whom I have talked, is that Dr.Wesley thinkg highly of the manuscript. He so advised Mrs.Milton over the phone.

Now,down to the nitty gritty,which is to say, to business.

I have talked with your good friend and admirer,Dr.Henry A.Callis,here, who,as you know,is one of the founders of Alpha Phi Alpha(or have you forgetten and he was delighted to say to me:

"George,I think we should try to get this book underwritten right here in Washington,but if you feel that we could get more people outside,go to it. Put me down for a loan of $200.00 not for nine months as you suggest,but for a year."

In addition,Dr.Callis was full of suggestions for involving every graduate chapter of Alpha etc.,all of which suggestions,I prefer to let await sending out letters for advance subscriptions.

Judge W.C.Hueston,another longtime admirer, has agreed to $200.00 for nine months.

Mr.Doby,the lawyer here on 11th streqt,whom I have not been able to see,but who first put the idea into my head, can be counted on for 200.00 I have no doubt.

Then there is our mutual friend Dr.William H.Jernagin,who worked with you in the National Race Congress, and was helpful in sending you to the Peace Conference after World War I,and who generally comes through on something really big, can be counted on for at least 100.00 and perhaps 200.00

My oldest Brother,Howard Murphy, has agreed to 200.00 and will also make it possible for my mother to put up 100.00.

All of these are loans against sales of the book, and constitute, in my view the best way to proceed.

I propose to contact Arthur Spingarn(now,don't get angry) and quite a few others, mostly here in Washington,but I have to slow down a bit because I want to be sure that there is full agreement and that your contract is signed,sealed and delivered,before going further.

But,surely the above should indicate to you that we are on our way and that your excellent suggestions about the other publishing concerns should be held in reserve just in case of difficulties.

I have not even taken up the matter with Pauline Young in Wilmington, who is retired,has a good pension, and loves to work on things of this kind,and who is your great and good friend. Nor have I taken this up with Dr.and Mrs.Gowens,also of Wilmington.

42-1A-130

There are some friends in Philadelphia whom I want to work on later. You see,I have in mind that these persons who lend the money, can also be the nucleus for special literatry events in Washington,Baltimore, Philadelphia,Wilmington and New York, all on the main line, and also located in such a way as to make it possible for you and Shirely to attend such events at the proper time,without too much tired traveling and also at a good saving on your ticket money.

We are now at the stgge, I believe,where I should be talking to you, so there is a good chance that I may be up for the Week-end. I cannot get away before Saturday at xxpxxmxx 2:30 p.m.,which will put me in Brooklyn

about 9 p.m. Now,if I could bum up some dinner at your place, we could go into this in detail and I could spend the late evening in N.Y. and Sunday in N.Y. to take care of some other matters I'm interested in.

Drop me a note as quick as you can,to let me know what you think of talking on this week-end,with you and Shirley.

All the best to you both,

George B.Murphy Jr.

1915-14th NW
Wash DC

Not at home Sat -
Phone Sunday.

[Murphy, George]

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1893 Greenway, Columbus, Ohio
HARRY H. EDDICKS, Grand Recorder
1943 Christian St., Philadelphia 46, Pa.

42-1A-128

December 14,1955

Dr.W.E.B.Dubois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn,New York

Dear Doctor W.E.B.,

The inclosed copies of correspondence between Charlie Wesley and myself, speak for themselves.

I just wanted to let you know that progress is being made,though slowly, and that I am quite confident that we shall be reading the "Black Mansarts" all over the place before many moons have passed.

All the best to you a nd Shirley,

George B.Murphy Jr.

42/1A/21

Copy

Central State College
Wilberforce, Ohio

Office of the President

December 10, 1955

Mr. George Murphy
I.B.P.O.E. of W.
1915 Fourteenth St., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear George:

I have read the DuBois manuscript and regard it as an unusual contribution as a historical novel. I have indicated this to Dr. Brewer to whom I sent it for reading and comment. His reaction was good and similar to mine. He says that Mr. Brooks shares his view.

Murphy 12/14/55

I am waiting for a reply from Dr. Trenholm, who is chairman of the Board of the Associated Publishers, our associated publishing agency. This is where the financial picture is opened. We will need to know how much we can get from its small treasury for this project. The Associated Publishers have already obligated themselves for the publication of Jane Shackelford's Child's Story of the Negro in a revised edition. It is now in the press.

Miss Milton tells me that you have several names of those who will give or loan money for the publication. Please write me the details. I can then contact Dr. Trenholm informing him of the probable or exact amount which will be available toward printing costs.

My office has been busy in sending out the enclosed letters of which I am informed, you wanted several. They are enclosed. Each letter was personally addressed. I hope that our several efforts combined are bringing the desired results as to sales.

With cordial regards to you and Judge, I am

Fraternally,

signed Charlie

Charles H. Wesley

[Murphy]

42/1A/28

December 14,1955

Dr.Charles H.Wesley
President,Central State College
Wilberforce,Ohio

Dear Charlie,

Thanks for your kind letter. I had begun to wonder what had happened. I am delighted to hear that you've made so much progress thus far.

Here are the commitments I have received thus far(all loans for nine months,except Dr.Callis's which may run for a year if necessary:

1-Mrs.Grace Murphy(Baltimore)-------------100.00
2-Mr.Howard H.Murphy(Baltimore)-----------200.00
3-Dr.Henry A.Callis(Washington)-----------200.00
4-Dr.Thomas A.Williston-------------------100.00
5-Mr.David A.Williston(Father)------------100.00
6-Judge W.C.Hueston-----------------------200.00
7-E.B.DobyWashington----------------------100.00(tentative)
8-Dr.E.Franklin Frazier-------------------100.00(May not be able to pay until February)
9-Judge James A.Cobb----------------------(Will advise later)

In addition to the Above I have a tentative offer of loan for$500
I am also prepared to raise an additional thousand,once we are certain and have contract signed etc. We shall need to have properly signed and printed certificates with your signature and Mr.Brooks,(however you desire) promising to repay loan,without interest within or before nine months etc).
Thus,what you can tell Dr.Trenholm is we are certain of $2,500 and possibl more, to be paid on or before January 1st.

42/1A/29.

My feeling is that this is so sure, without my having contacted any of the people in Wilmington, Philadelphia and New York, that we should not wait until every dime of the money is raised before going to press, especially if there is a possibility of coming out during Negro History week. I am perfectly willing to put my honor up on this proposition.

Let me know as soon as you can what your reaction is on the above.

I think Dr. Dubois will be more than delighted with this effort and will once more resume the even tenor of his way in believing that Middle Class Negro folk are not all such a bad lot.

Sincerely and Fraternally,

George B. Murphy Jr.

P.S. I almost forgot to tell you that I went to Charlotte's recital and enjoyed it immensely. When she matures just a bit more so that she can hold some of the higher liquid notes for much longer, she will, I have no doubt, give Leontyne Price a real run for her honors.

Let me wish you and your family happiness during Xmas and Peace and contentment and health during 1966.

From G. Murphy 27-16-22 [Morphy]

Ask Dr. Dubois for Louis Lautier, what he meant in his brochure on Asian-African Conference, about this conference being the first conference in which black and brown peoples take up the question of settling their own destiny, since the Renaissance. What was the conference in the Renaissance or how is Renaissance used here.

Mr. George B. Murphy Jr.
C/O W. C. Hueston
I. B. P.O.E. F W.
1915 - 14th St. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

AC-2-4770

COPY

FROM GEORGE MURPHY

Ask Dr. Dubois for Louis (Lautier) what he meant in his brochure on Asian-African Conference, about this conference being the first conference in which black and brown peoples take up the question of settling their own destiny, since the Renaissance. What was the Conference in the Renaissance or how is Renaissance used here.

(Bandung Conference
April 1955)

27-16-23

[Nance]

San Francisco (17)
505 ColeStreet
February 18, 1955

My dear Andre:

What in the world are you up to? I haven't had a line from you for many months — not even a greeting at Christmas. This is the first December since I can remember that I didn't get a card, and I'm properly miffed about it! Did you get mine, among the other thousand?

27-11-9

I am working for the Veterans Administration - it is routine, but not hard, and I'm trying to get out of the woods financially. Shall have to pick up some extra typing, etc. But I see the promise of a little "daylight" around July if I can keep to my schedule...

My older son will be home from Japan around June - I hope his plans include school.

The younger son is in Korea. For once I am quite alone. Do write, Love to Shirley, too.

Muriel

February 23, 1955

Mrs. Ethel Ray Nance
505 Cole Street
San Francisco, 17
California

Dear Marielle:

I am afraid I have been guilty of not writing as often as I ought, but I have been finishing the great novel: 44 chapters and 1300 pages. It is done now and folks are reading it.

I have been very well, and Shirley and I expect to go to Haiti Saturday for three weeks.

I am glad you are not over-working and that you can see through the woods. Perhaps you will be east this spring. If so, be sure to look us up.

Yours with love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-11-8

March 23, 1955

Mrs. Ehhel Ray Nance
505 Cole Street
San Francisco, 17, California

My dear Marielle:

Thank you for your good work at the Fellowship Church.

I have just returned from a three weeks' rest in Haiti where we really had a wonderful time doing nothing amid the sunshine, fruit and flowers.

I wanted to send you a card from there but of course did not have your new address, and when I came home I found your letter from Fellowship Church. I hope this is a permanent job.

Let me hear from you.

With best love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

P.S. After reading the morning obituaries I am constrained to remakk: "Praise God from whom all blessings flow."

27-16-3

April 18, 1955

Mrs. Ethel Ray Nance
505 Cole Street
San Francisco, 17, Calif.

Dear Marielle:

Write and tell me just what you are doing and how you are getting on. I think you owe me a letter but I'll write this anyway.

We have just been to Haiti for a vacation. I hardly expected they would let me in, but they did and were quite cordial about it. We really had a lovely and restful time.

L7-11-10

The weather here, however, has been outrageous since we returned, but we're hoping for some spring soon.

Lee Lorch of Fisk was in the other day. Are you doing anything to help him? He seemed to rather suspect that you didn't care much about him, but I'm sure you would if you really knew him.

As I have told you, my new novel is finished and I am going to begin negotiations for publication soon. One chapter was published in the March number of Masses and Mainstream, and I have already negotiations from Italy and Hungary. Whether it will ever be published in the United States, I am not sure but I hope so.

Shirley joins me in love. Let us hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[1955]

[Nance]

N

42-1A-41

San Francisco
August 20th

Dear André:

If anyone loves to gloat over any accomplishment more than you do, it is I. For your information, in today's mail I received a copy of a brochure on Benjamin Franklin from Finland! I met a citizen from Helsinki while I was a Fisk and dug out his name and address. I asked for a dozen copies but he is ill in the hospital and had a friend get this one for me and send it.

If that darned old publisher of yours would let me have some copies of THE ORDEAL OF MANSART and send payment as I sell them I believe I could do something. I really can't afford to lay out the money in advance. There are calls but I can only send for 3 at a time and it is awkward.

Mrs. Mary Louise Hooper is back from jail in South Africa and working hard to set up committees to work for funds for the treason trial. She is making her home with me in San Francisco, and needless to say she keeps me busy. I am secretary of the Branch of NAACP in San Francisco, finishing out the year for Jane Bosfield who returned to Boston to live. I am trying to kepp the erstwhile "professionals" hopping mad enough to do something. Sometimes I believe they wish I would move to the other Coast - or further! I did think of Ghana, but there's so much to be done here. I wish we would spirit you out of the country so you could ~~[illegible]~~ "worry" the rest of the world for a while. I don't mean that, my darling guardian, but not seeing you for so long makes a lot of cantankerous notions sprout and grow through calculated neglect! (I guess that will properly classify you in my estimation (smile).

Where do you go this year? Is the West Coast included in your itinerary? Have you heard from Dr. Goodlett yet? You probably knew Dr. Goodlett was the "first" to move out into exclusive St. Francis Wood district here. Well, at least three more families have bought in the vicinity, and all are on the same street! I kid the householders about their exclusive segregated street.

I secured permission from the City Civil Service Commission to work part-time at selling real estate, so it means I shall try to pick up a few coppers on the week-end. Money isn't too plentiful, and in an unrestricted city (ahem) it is surprising how hard it is to get decent homes.

Love to Shirley. Be nice to her, you old neglectful Mr. Legree !

Love,
Marielle
Marielle

Please pardon form of letter – it's on city time & the phone keeps interrupting my writing.

42-1A-42

NANCE

[Nance]

505 Cole St
San F. 17, Calif

October 6, 1955

42-2A-138

Dear Andre:

Thank you for the reprint from UNITED ASIA. Please remember me whenever you have similar copies of any of your writings.

I appreciate the copies of correspondence with passport dept. How long can this thing go on? Mr. Griffin phoned me and read the AFRO AMERICAN release on it. Thank God for the AFRO these days. It is quite alone. The DEFENDER has deteriorated to zero.

Have you seen reviews of Samuel R. Spencer, Jr.'s book on "BOOKER T. W.?" The N. Y. Times Book Review ran a dignified review on it and spoke of you well - last May, I believe it was. After a review by a local paper here when I nearly tore the reviewer to bits because he used "Willy" DuBois in referring to you, I contacted Griffin and we intended sending and having letters sent to the miscreant, explaining in detail his personal shortcomings! Then Griffin sensibly suggested waiting until we read the book so we could get it straight. This week I secured the book from the library and find the author took your quotation-contained name from your early life in Barrington. Were you called "Willy" in your early school life? It sounded so smart in this review - sort of like Walter and Frank Williams would have said it!

In case you haven't seen the book, almost a whole chapter is devoted to you as the "self-appointed gadfly to BTW". But it was wonderful to see your name in print again after all these years of silence in the world-as-it-is. There were inclusions of excerpts from "Souls of Black Folk" and much about your activities before and with Trotter of the GUARDIAN.

I am sorry to learn Delany hasn't been re-appointed asyet. How much more will we take? Apparently we aren't pushed back far enough into the wall yet - even with Mississippi?

You and Shirley may recall my friend who took us riding and to breakfast when you visited here last - she was at my home also. We took snapshots on the high hill, and I sent you some. Well, she is on a tour of Africa, and I do mean of the entire country. She went with a group from a college here (Dr. Fisk's tour) and they made short stops all over the continent. She remained behind, however and will spend about 2 years in all in Africa and Europe (She goes to Europe nearly every year anyhow.) She is now in South Africa and has sent me several pamphlets, etc., She has met Gandhi's son, and a deposed Zulu Chief, and from her letters, is speaking and attending meetings with them. Her parents were missionaries many years ago and established a hospital in Swaziland. She will spend some time there. She may stay out of jail - but it would be an experience for her to write about if she is incarcerated - and her financial standing will not keep her in long! She worked for the Ass'n as a volunteer when I was employed here. She is a well qualified, earnest, sincere and interested person, and will speak out. What good it will do there, remains to be seen.

I have ordered 5 copies of your "Suppression of the African Slave Trade." I have orders for 3 copies. Love to Shirley, and you.

Marcelle

N

42-3-1955

December 28, 1955

Mr. Roy Nash
39 Alamo
Berkeley, Calif.

My dear Roy Nash:

I was delighted to get your Christmas card. I have been wondering for many years just what had become of you. I hope you are in good health and pleasantly busy. As you know, I left the NAACP and the Crisis in 1934 and for ten years was head of the Department of Sociology in Atlanta University. While there I published "Black Reconstruction," "Black Folk Then and Now," "Dusk of Dawn," and some other articles and pamphlets. Then I was retired for age and invited to return to the NAACP. I endured that for four years and then was dismissed. Since 1948 I have been doing fugitive writing, including two books, the last of which I am sending you. I shall hope to hear from you at your leisure.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

[Nash]

39 Alamo
Berkeley 8, California

31 December 1955

Dear Dr DuBois:

It was so good to get your letter yesterday and to learn something of what you have been doing in the long years since our paths last crossed. After you went to Atlanta I lost all track of you and knew nothing of your return to the NAACP until it was all over. I was in Brazil during those years. My nephew, Philleo Nash (a PhD in anthropology) was a White House aid in charge of racial minority affairs under both Roosevelt & Truman, and when you left the NAACP in 1948 he wrote me of the fact, giving no details. Said, as I recall it: "Your old friend, Dr DuBois, has left the NAACP in a big row. The pity of it is that DuBois is in the right."

It will be a delight to have and to read your last book, which you say is on the way.

37-178-31

Now to bring you up to date on a life history which at least has been unusual.

The only education that did me much good I got during a senior year at Columbia under Beard, Giddings, Boas, Livingston Farrand, and Seligman. Then I went to Yale for forestry and out to the Philippines, where I organized the School of Forestry in the University of the Philippines.

Then came the NAACP, which I left to become a Captain of artillery in the first world war. There was an interesting incident there which I may have told you - my memory is not as keen as it used to be. At my own request I was assigned to the 92nd Division, which was the only Negro combat division formed from the draft. When I got established I asked Dan Moore, the Colonel commanding the Brigade, how ~~thi~~ he thought things were working out.

"You never can make artillerymen out of niggers," he replied. "We need technicians, not pick & shovel men" or words to that effect.

I thought the matter over & next day went to him again. "Colonel," I said, "I think I have your problem licked. "There are less than 20,000 Negro troops in this division; in the draft are several hundred thousand. Among them are hundreds of skilled electricians, auto mechanics, technicians of all sorts being wasted in labor battalions. Let me go to Washington and comb the draft and I'll get you all the skilled men you need."

I told him how I would work it. We were at Camp Dix, New Jersey. He said he couldn't authorize or pay for the trip, but could grant me a few days leave.

I went to Washington at my own expense and got in touch with Grimke & Prof Cook. They asked for and were granted an appointment with Baker, Secretary of War, and went with me. I laid the proposition before Baker; he pushed a button and in came Hugh Scott, Chief of Staff. After the brief conference Scott took me into his office and authorized me to comb the draft.

27-17B-33

(all individuals were carded & classified) and to transfer 200 men per regiment from the labor battalions to the artillery. In addition to electricians, auto mechanics etc I did something that hadn't been discussed: I transferred 20 men per regiment who had been Pullman cooks! It made all the difference between success and failure, yet the West Point crowd had been too dumb to order so obvious a move.

The week after I got out of the Army I was walking down Fifth Avenue and bumped into an old colleague of the Philippine Forest Service, a man I hadn't seen in ten years.

"What are you doing?" he asked.

"Nothing. Just home from saving the world for Democracy."

"I've got 70,000 acres in Brazil of the best tropical forest. It's a big enough deal for all of us. Better come down & go in with me."

27-17B-34

Two weeks later I was on a boat headed for Brazil. Naturally I began reading books on the country I was visiting. None of them suited me. I had always wanted to write a book, so when I decided against his lumber proposition (it was a complete business failure) I decided to write a book on Brazil which at least would please the author. I returned to New York and I arranged my affairs and finances (had inherited some money from my father); returned to Brazil + learned Portuguese in 6 weeks, three teachers a day, six days a week. Then I plunged into the interior and for three years traveled Brazil as did no other American of my generation.

Before leaving New York I went to the old Cadmus Book Shop on 14th St. and told them to pick up anything on Brazil in English, French, or Portuguese that appeared on the 2nd hand market. You can't imagine the treasures that poured in during the next four years.

27-178-35

After my Brazilian travels, I spent a summer in Portugal to get that background, then settled down in an old Connecticut barn owned by an artist friend and spent a year writing "The Conquest of Brazil".

Publisher after publisher returned the MSS. They one & all said it was fine, they never expected to get another like it, but – there was no market for a book on Brazil. If I hadn't been a friend of Spingarn it would have gone in the waste basket. Harcourt finally said if I would put up $2000. to pay for the plates, they would publish it.

Once out, the book got everything in the way of praise from the reviewers and was one of 20 American volumes on the League of Nations list in 1926. But as a way of life, writing did not seem indicated. I had spent $25,000 gathering my material and had to foot the bill to get the book on a few library shelves.

27-178-36

Of the writing of the book you knew, because I acknowledge my debt to you for having read in MSS the chapter on the Negro. Did you see the book after it came out? If not, let me send you my loan copy, because I want you to see what I said on racial admixture & the Negro's contribution. I can't give you a copy as I would like, because the book is long out of print and copies have brought as high as $50. on the 2nd hand market.

It went into a Portuguese edition in 1939, was reprinted in Sao Paulo in 1951, and is still going strong in Brazil, although I said some of the harshest things about the Brazilian ruling caste that ever were penned.

From 1926 on I imagine you lost track of my wanderings? In 1930 an old pal of Columbia University days stopped at Merriewood, my Connecticut estate (in from Westerly R.I.) on his way to Nantucket. He was from the NY School of Social Work (I forget the title) & the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the Hoover administration had asked them to recommend someone to make a survey of the Seminole Indians. I was wintering in Florida in those years, & took on the job as a new adventure. They liked the job I did & at its conclusion made me a Field Representative,

27-178-37

or trouble shooter for the Commissioner. I covered all the U.S. & spent a most interesting summer among the Eskimos of Alaska. In 1935 my 2nd daughter was born and I decided to settle down. They gave me the Sacramento Indian Agency in charge of all Indians from Los Angeles to the Oregon line.

When war seemed imminent, the National Defense Council asked me to go to Brazil and make a report on which way the cat would jump in the event of war. This was a quarter of a century after I had quit Brazil, but my book had been building an undeserved reputation for me.

I had hardly gotten back and settled as superintendent of the Blackfeet in Montana, than Pearl Harbor came over the radio.

Then my six-year-old daughter, Jolley, looked up one day and said, "Daddy, do you know I can't even smile?" It was polio & the paralysis spread rapidly. We fought our way from Browning to Great Falls in a blizzard, and almost at gunpoint got her on a plane to San Francisco. A few days later I drove to Berkeley - 1021 miles - in one day!

Fortunately our family doctor had sense enough to apply the Kenny treatment and after a year she came out unscathed.

In the spring after Pearl Harbor the Attorney General's Office telephoned me in Montana and wanted to know if I could return to California and organize the first concentration camp for 10,000 Japanese. That was the most shameful breakdown of democracy of the many we have witnessed. I handled Manzanar for four or five months & then went to Washington as chief of the Brazilian unit in the Board of Economic Warfare. From there I transferred to the State Dept. and was sent to Brazil as Cultural Attaché for five years.

It should make the God's laugh – the tropical tramp who learned Portuguese in 6 weeks in 1922, delivering a lecture in Portuguese at the Brazilian Foreign Office in 1944. I, who wrote: "There is a highly articulate class in Brazil which I will call 'The Betrayers of the People' – in 1945 was requested by the President of Brazil for a copy of my book.

27-178-39

At the end of the war the State Department began retrenching on its cultural program and I, being a rank outsider receiving $1000 a month of good money that should be going to an insider, was retired in 1947. Being only 62 at that time, and in vigorous good health, on returning to my home in Berkeley I took a job with the County library and held it until I reached 70 last February.

Since then I have devoted myself to a big garden - rhododendrons are my specialty, a golf course five minutes away, and two grandsons. Both daughters are married & live in California. I don't own either a television or a typewriter, but I do drive a Buick roadmaster and am living exactly where & how I determined to live back in 1905 when I was a student at the University of California.

Did you see my article on race prejudice in Brazil in the Crisis for April, 1951? On the possibility that you did not, am sending a copy under separate cover.

I regret to say that I am completely out of touch with the old NAACP crowd. Is Mary Ovington still alive? My best to her

27-178-40

if you ever see her. I hear occasionally from Rose Strunsky Lorwin, Anna Strunsky Walling's sister. Walling sure made an ass of himself before he died. But that's another story.

This rambling epistle goes forward with every good wish for the New Year and my warm affection and deep admiration always.

Sincerely

Roy Nash

27-1718-41

PS - I am asking another old friend to call on you because I am sure you will enjoy one another. He is Bob Brown, Robert Carlton Brown of 37 West 8th St. I knew his wife in Greenwich Village days and when I got to Brazil they were running a little weekly called The Brazilian-American - after similar adventures in London + Mexico City. Bob is a Communist who used to know everybody worth knowing in Moscow. Gertrude Stein was another friend in Paris.

He has just put out a catalogue of 1000 books on cooking + drinking which line the walls of his apartment + his Complete Book of Cheese (Random House) is just off the press.

27-178-42

[N.A.A.C.P. - Montclair]

W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

1/25/55

42/2A/14

Received of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

1. Color and Democracy
2. In Battle For Peace
3. The Souls of Black Folk
4. Suppression of the African Slave Trade to U. S.

1 Photograph

(Mason)

Sallie Mason
For Montclair N.A.A.C.P. Exhibit
138 Lincoln St. Montclair N.J.

Marie Iannella

[National Birthday Committee]

THE NATIONAL ARTS CLUB
15 GRAMERCY PARK
New York
N. Y.

March, 1955

Dear Friend:

A National Committee is gathering together to honor Percy MacKaye on March 16, his eightieth birthday. The celebration will take place at the National Arts Club, at 8:30 P.M. Won't you join us in paying tribute to a great poet dramatist who has given America a lifetime of creative beauty? May we, also, add your name to the National Birthday Committee which will be recorded on our memento program?

Among those to be invited are the following persons, friends of Mr. MacKaye: John Masefield, Robert Frost, Carl Sandburg, Thornton Wilder, Robert Sherwood, Brooks Atkinson, Ethel Barrymore, Katherine Cornell, Margaret Webster, Eva Le Gallienne, Upton Sinclair, Helen Keller, Dr. Archibald Henderson, Marianne Craig Moore, Leonora Speyer, Marc Van Doren, Christopher Morley, Dorothy Thompson, Walter Lippmann, John Hall Wheelock, Lawrence Langner, director of Theatre Guild, Gilmor Brown, director of Pasadena Playhouse, and Archibald MacLeish, President of the Academy of Arts and Letters.

During the evening there will be brief greetings by Mr. MacKaye's friends in the arts as well as readings from his plays by Blanche Yurka, Clarence Derwent and myself. At that time, the Harvard College Library will announce the acquisition of the Marion and Percy MacKaye Collection.

A traditional birthday cake and many pleasant reminiscenses are included in the festivity.

But your presence would be the most welcome tribute you could render Percy MacKaye. May we expect you?

Cordially,

Maria Iannella

Maria Iannella
Chairman National Birthday Committee

A. M. Sullivan
Former Pres. Poetry Society of America

Dr. William Van Lennep
Curator Theatre Collection
Harvard College Library

Marie Bullock
Pres. of The Academy of American Poets

Clarence Derwent
Pres. of American National Theatre Academy

Marc Connelly
Pres. of National Institute of Arts and Letters

Howard Lindsay
Pres. The Players

Walter Hampden
Padraic Colum
Frank Mason

Charles Coburn
Mary Colum
Phyllis Harriman Mason

Dennis King
Ernest H. Peabody

Eleanor Wilson McAdoo
Bond & Thea Wheelwright
Prof. Robert F. W. Meader

27-16-21

ASP

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS

35 West 64th Street, New York 23, N. Y.
Telephone: SUsquehanna 7-4677

January 26, 1955

Dear Friend:

The Attorney General has proposed adding the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions to a list of "subversive organizations". It is of the greatest importance that you and all past and present board members of the Council, to whom this letter is being addressed, know that the proposed listing is being contested. This is why:

The Attorney General's intended action is taken under an Executive Order. It has nothing to do with the Internal Security Act or the Security Activities Control Board. Nevertheless, the extra-legal implications of a listing are serious because the question: "Have you ever been a member of an organization on the Attorney General's list?" has been asked not only of Federal employees, the military services, ROTC, etc., but also by many private employers, including schools and other institutions.

If a notice of contest had not been filed, the listing would have been automatic. Organizations long out of existence are still being listed. Thus, even had the Council dissolved itself a year ago, its past members would henceforth be obliged to reply in the affirmative to the question found in so many application forms.

As of now, the ASP Council is not listed. Meanwhile the right of the Attorney General to list organizations under the Executive Order is being tested in the courts, notably by the National Lawyers Guild.

Beyond this practical step, which we had to take to protect our members, past and present, there is the matter of principle. The listing procedure is part of the fabric of McCarthyism - equating disagreement with disloyalty, anti-intellectualism and intimidating our citizenry. The Attorney General cannot point to a single subversive act or statement by the Council. Through the years the Council has been composed of individuals of different professional specialties, different religions, races and political beliefs, united in a common program for the advancement of American culture and democracy in a world at peace.

In all its activities the Council has been loyally devoted to our nation's Constitution and our nation's cultural and material well-being. Where it has differed from government policies, or proposed new ones, it has always acted in accordance with America's cherished democratic process. The defense of the Council, then, is the defense of all cultural and scientific organizations, as well as the defense of freedom of thought and expression.

I propose to keep all of you informed of developments. Meanwhile, a practical matter: money is required to conduct the defense. Will you send a check or cash, as may be convenient, to Daniel S. Gillmor, Treasurer of the Comm. to Defend ASP. Do it now, won't you? The preservation of freedom is self-preservation.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Morss Lovett

Robert Morss Lovett

70

27-13-8

W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Friend:

Back in 1951, when the Attorney General indicted me as a "foreign agent" because of my advocacy of peace, you were good enough to sign a petition in my behalf. Due to your action and other influences, the indictment was thrown out of court.

Today the organization which sponsored that petition is itself a target. The Attorney General proposes to list the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions as a "subversive organization". This proposal is being contested.

I know that the Council has been composed of individuals of different specialties, different religions, races and beliefs, united in a common program for the advancement of American culture and democracy in a world at peace. The Council has been loyally devoted to our nation's Constitution and has always acted in accordance with America's cherished democratic process.

This listing procedure is part of the fabric of McCarthyism - equating disagreement with disloyalty, anti-intellectualism and intimidating our citizenry.

So I am glad to pause from my writing to ask you and the several hundred American intellectuals who acted so effectively in my behalf a few years ago to reaffirm what you said then:

> "All scientists, writers and other professional workers are gravely concerned with the trend, in these tragic days of international tension, to build a tariff wall against the free international movement of ideas..... They know that peace is the soil in which a flourishing culture grows. For this reason, cultural workers in all countries throughout history have been traditionally devoted to peace, some at great cost to themselves... As writers, scientists and professionals, we uphold the constitutional right of all citizens to speak for peace."

A Committee to Defend ASP has been formed. It needs funds to conduct a defense. Won't you join me in sending a contribution to Daniel S. Gillmor, Treasurer. An envelope is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-3-1

January 24, 1955

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
National Guardian
17 Murray Street
New York 7, N.Y.

42-1A-81

Dear Cedric:

Here is an article on Ethiopia which is a specimen of what I have in mind. There is a good deal of history, but otherwise Africa is not understandable today. I enclose one on the Sudan, and I have in mind the following other articles:

UGANDA: The Story of the British West African conquest resulting in cotton growing, religious feud and the rebellion of a king now exiled in Britain.

KENY: The armed rebellion of African tribesmen against theft of land and quasi-slavery. This arose from the Uganda conquest and is now in process of attempted negotiation.

THE BELGIAN CONGO: Theadventure of Henry M. Stanley and Leopold of Belgium, where the U.S. is getting its uranium, the world its copper and where a skilled Negro proletariat is beginning to fight.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA: Where the American slave trade began and where today independent black states are emerging after revolution in 1948.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA: Where an intricate history of race relations and industrial development has brought Britain and Boer, Negro, Indian and

42-1A-82

mixed black into a bitter feud which Britain and American capitalism is rendering difficult of keeping from open war.

THE RHODESIAS: The center of the continent now torn by effort to follow the Union of South Africa and avoid both Kenya and British West Africa; with this the labor reservoir of Portugese Africa and its mulatto bourgeoisie.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[National Guardian]

January 26, 1955

Dear Friend:

We are writing you on behalf of the National Guardian, a paper with which you are, of course, already familiar.

On Friday, February 4th, John T. McManus, its General Manager, will be on Brooklyn Heights to talk with Guardian readers here. We will meet at the home of Helen and Earl Robinson, 11 Cranberry Street, at 8:30.

This occasion will give us all an opportunity to discuss with Mr. McManus the paper, its policies, and some specific ways in which it can be supported here on Brooklyn Heights. This is not a fund raising party, nor will there be any solicitation of funds.

We hope that you can be with us.

Sincerely,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mrs. Helen Robinson

Clifford T. McAvoy

February 2, 1955

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
National Guardian
17 Murray St.
New York 7, N.Y.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN:

Is it possible that the editors of this publication have not read the speech of General Douglass Mac Arthur against war, delivered January 26th at Los Angeles?

If they have read it, how does it happen that no mention has been made of this most devastating attack on war ever made by an American general?

If they have not read it, for God's sake, how come?

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

["National Guardian"]

WEEKLY GUARDIAN ASSOCIATES, Inc. • • • • • •
17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-1750

Feb. 3

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Guardian dated the following Monday (it does not reach Coast readers until the end of the week after publication) is put to bed on Wednesdays and starts coming off the press on Thursday morning first thing. MacArthur made his speech on Thursday night, Jan. 27, when our paper was already in the mails. We have featured excerpts from the speech in the current issue.

Have you any good theories on why the old so-and-so said what he did? We are frankly a bit shaken to be putting out an issue in which MacArthur and Matusow are the "heroes;" but no one can say that life in America doesn't have its surprises.

Sincerely yours,

Cedric Belfrage

27-16-36

[National Guardian]

WEEKLY GUARDIAN ASSOCIATES, Inc.
17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-1750

Feb. 4 1955

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are very pleased with the Sudan and Ethiopia pieces but do feel that a separate article should be devoted to French Africa, since it is very much in the news just now.

If French Africa is handled separately, then the whole series including the introductory one on American Negro attitudes toward Africa will comprise ten articles. We believe this will be a most important series for us to publish.

I feel we should raise now the question of payment. As I think you know, we purchase little material from "outside" our own staff and our budget for that is miserably small. We have never before bought ten articles at one swoop. Would you accept $150 for the whole series? Of course, as I hardly need emphasize to you, our payments bear no relation whatever to the real value of the material and the work put into it; it is merely a token - would that it were more than that.

Sincerely yours,

Cedric Belfrage

27-17-12

February 9, 1955

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
National Guardian
17 Murray Street
New York 7, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Belfrage:

The compensation of $150 for ten articles is satisfactory.

Will you please return to me for revision the article on the Sudan?

I will have that and the other articles in your hands very soon.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-17-13

NATIONAL
GUARDIAN

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-3960

Feb 10 1955

Dear Dr DuBois:

Here is the Sudan article for revision. I presume that the section down to near the bottom of p. 3 will be one article. We will run the Ethiopia piece next week, and would like to get the Sudan one in type as soon as possible.

I am enclosing our check for $75 as an advance on the $150 for the series.

Sincerely,

Cedric Belfrage

27-11-7

337

February 21, 1955

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
National Guardian
17 Murray Street
New York 7, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Belfrage:

The enclosed finish eight of my projected articles on Africa.

I plan to go to Haiti Saturday for three weeks unless my government objects. When I return I will send you the other two articles.

Some of these are a bit longer than I wished, and you have my permission to cut them if you must.

With best wishes,

W. .B. Du Bois

DB:lh

87-17-15

WEEKLY GUARDIAN ASSOCIATES, Inc. . . . . . .
17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-3960

L

March 24, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York City 10

Dear Dr.:

This is to confirm your doing us the great honor of appearing at our meeting at City Center Casino 135 West 55th Street, Wednesday evening, April 20.

As you know, this will be Vincent Hallinan's first appearance since he was "sprung".

The theme of the meeting is the redication to the principles of F.D.R. and a double redication of all of us who are carrying on the fight.

I know that you will say exactly what you please anyway - however, if for only the pleasure of seeing you, I'd like to stop by some time next week and discuss the program.

love and kisses

Theodora
Theodora Peck

27-15-12

March 28, 1955

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
National Guardian
17 Murray St.
New York 7, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Belfrage:

Enclosed is another one of my African essays, a little long but this one covers a long subject.

I have been out of the country for over three weeks and have almost forgotten the exact status of this series. How many more articles do you want and when?

Reading some of it when I came home, it strikes me as a little flat. What has been your readers' reaction?

By the way, I sent to McManus a letter from Viking Press offering to sell the plates of THE WORLD AND AFRICA for $250. I have not heard from him.

I hope you are quite all right. We had a very lovely rest.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-17-1

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-3960

[1955]

march 28

J2-1A-80

Dear Dr DuBois:

Welcome home.

The S. Africa piece will appear next week, the Kenya piece this week. According to your original schedule this leaves two more to come.

I would say that your series is not the sort of thing we usually get much comment on in a specific way, but many have expressed general pleasure that they have been published, and we are confident that the articles have been read with deep interest and performed a useful service. Having neglected Africa for far too long ourselves, we feel pleased to have circulated such a series especially when the silence is so complete everywhere else.

As far as I know there has been no progress on the "World and Africa" idea. It is a question of money and of finding ways to ensure sale of the books. Also we had in mind to save costs by running several books on the Trade Union Service presses at once, but other projects have fallen through; and now owing to lack of enough business to keep it running for a full work week, TUS is closing down its press room and our own press work is being farmed out starting next month. I am passing your letter to Jack and he will doubtless write you in more detail about this.

Do you know whether the piece about your experiences in Haiti, which I had suggested to your wife, is likely to materialize?

Yours ever,

Cedric Belfrage

NATIONAL
GUARDIAN
the [illegible] newsweekly

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-3960

[1955?]

April 18

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We have received from the new Associated Authors outfit the book "Labor, Free & Slave" by Benjamin Mandel. I wonder if you would care to review it for us. I am told it is an important book but have not read it. We would like to give Associated Authors a good send-off if possible. I would suggest 350 words with discretion to make it longer if you feel it has real importance. If you can do it, I will send you the book.

Sincerely,

27-10-13

April 18, 1955

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
National Guardian
17 Murray St.
New York 7, N.Y.

My dear Belfrage:

Enclosed is an article on Haiti. I am convinced that it is too long for your use, but since you wanted to see it I am sending it.

I think probably it would be better to try the MONTHLY REVIEW or even the DAILY WORKER. LATIN AMERICA, too, wants it.

But I had to set down my conclusions about Haiti and I am sending it although I know it would scarcely be fair to your readers to give so much space to so small a place.

Let me have your decision concerning it and return it as soon as you can.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-17-14

[National Guardian]

APRIL 22, 1955

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
17 Murray Street
New York 7, N.Y.

Dear Belfrage:

I do not want to review Mandel's book. Its thesis is that the American labor movement, with some exceptions, was against slavery and for the Negro.

This is ridiculous, and he only makes a case by a sort of historical research which is unjustified.

27-10-14

At the same time, I agree with you that the Associated Authors should get a good send-off. So try somebody else.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

April 25, 1955

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
National Guardian
17 Murray Street
New York 7, N.Y.

My dear Belfrage:

Enclosed is an article on Haiti. I am convinced that it is too long and too specialized for your use, but since you wanted to see it I am sending it.

I think probably it would be better to try the MONTHLY REVIEW or even the DAILY WORKER. LATIN AMERICA, too, wants it.

Let me have your decision concerning it and return it as soon as you can.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-11-6

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-3960

May 4 1955

Dear Dr DuBois:

As you predicted, we hardly feel able to use this article, meaty and fascinating as it is, in the Guardian. I do believe that it would be just up the alley of Monthly Review, and that that would be the best place to send it.

I think your Hallinan meeting speech comes out handsomely in our current issue, and hope you like it in print.

I really thought I knew all the words in English for concubines, but I must say that LEMAN stumped everyone in this office - though we found it in our largest dictionary. We shall probably get some letters from readers around the Dakotas asking what language you were using.

Yours,

Cedric Belfrage

27-11-5

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

February 10, 1955

To the Members of the Department of Literature:

The Grant Committee for Literature for 1956 will hold its first meeting on March 29, to consider recipients of the six grants to be given in 1956. The Committee would welcome suggestions from you as to what writers (not members of the Institute or Academy, but authors of published works) you consider exceptionally worthy of recognition and the furtherance of their creative efforts.

Very sincerely yours,

W. H. AUDEN

Chairman, Committee on Grants
for Literature

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS

THE GOLD MEDAL

ARTICLE XI - Section 1. A medal to be known as The Gold Medal may be awarded under the following conditions: Two awards may be made each year for distinguished achievement in arts or letters. Any citizen of the United States is eligible for this award. Presentation will be made in the name of the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

Section 2. The medal shall be awarded for the entire work of the recipient, and it shall not be awarded more than once to any person.

Section 3. Nominations for The Gold Medals shall be invited annually from all members of the department in which they are to be awarded. Each nomination must be seconded by two members from the same department.

NOMINATION FOR THE GOLD MEDAL

FOR ESSAYS AND CRITICISM, 1955

Name of Candidate..

Address..

Name of Proposer..

Names of Seconders..

....

Qualifications:

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS

OFFICERS PROPOSED FOR 1955

By the General Nominating Committee

President

MARC CONNELLY

Vice-Presidents

JACQUES BARZUN

MALCOLM COWLEY

CLARE LEIGHTON

OTTO LUENING

JAMES KELLUM SMITH

WILLIAM ZORACH

Secretary

LOUIS KRONENBERGER

Treasurer

VIRGIL THOMSON

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS

633 West 155th Street
New York City

Nominations for Membership in the Department of Literature

1955

(alphabetically arranged)

HAMILTON BASSO, novelist of Connecticut	Proposer: Van Wyck Brooks Seconders: Malcolm Cowley Stuart Chase

Best known for his eight novels, Hamilton Basso is an all-round man of letters, the author of a life of Beauregard and a book of historical studies, Mainstream. He has also edited a collection of papers, The World from Jackson Square, about his native New Orleans. He has just completed a new novel, and now, in his fiftieth year, he is admirably qualified for membership in the National Institute.

V. W. B.

Mr. Basso was born in New Orleans in 1904, and was educated at Tulane University. He has been at various times associate editor of The New Republic, Time and The New Yorker magazines. In addition to the books named above he has also published the following: Relics and Angels, 1929; Cinnamon Seed, 1934; In Their Own Image, 1935; Courthouse Square, 1936; Days Before Lent, 1939; Wine of the Country, 1941; Sin in Capricorn, 1942; The Green Room, 1949, and The View from Pompey's Head, 1954.

In 1939 he won the Southern Authors Award.

CRANE BRINTON, historian of Massachusetts	Proposer: Jacques Barzun Seconders: Marquis James Kenneth Burke

Crane Brinton is a historian who, without making a doctrinal point of it, has combined the so-called scientific with the undeniably literary ideals of his craft. He writes to be read, and he is read. From The Political Ideas of the English Romanticists to his latest and most popularly successful work, Ideas and Men, he has given modern readers compendious works upon the course of history from the French

Revolution to the present-day status of Europe. He wrote the volume in the Langer Series which deals with the period 1789-1800, he produced a biography of Talleyrand, he anatomized the substance of all modern revolutions, and last, but not least, he played a preponderant role in the establishment at Harvard of the new courses conceived in the humanistic spirit. It was for one of these courses that he wrote Ideas and Men, an intellectual history of the Western world seen through a very decided temperament.

J. B.

Mr. Brinton was born in Winsted, Conn., in 1898. He took his B. A. at Harvard in 1919, and his Ph. D. at Oxford, England, in 1923. He has been professor of history at Harvard since 1942. Among the books he has published are: Political Ideas of the English Romanticists, 1926; The Jacobins, 1930; The Anatomy of Revolution, 1938; Nietzsche, 1941; The United States and Britain, 1945; From Many, One, 1948, and Ideas and Men, 1950.

He was a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University from 1920 to 1923.

BRUCE CATTON, historian of Maryland	Proposer: Allan Nevins Seconders: Henry Steele Commager Jacques Barzun

Bruce Catton sprang into fame in 1951 with one of the most vividly written of modern military histories, Mr. Lincoln's Army, in which the section "Never Call Retreat" is one of the most brilliant battle canvases since Carlyle. The following year he published an equally gripping study of the Army of the Potomac: Glory Road. Here again the battle scenes gave the volume its chief distinction, but the picture of the private soldier and the portraits of the generals were also of memorable quality. Finally, in 1953, Mr. Catton's A Stillness at Appomattox, completing his history of the Army, furnished a masterly depiction of the now hard-bitten Union troops in the campaigns in Virginia under Grant. He had previously published an illuminating study of economic mobilization in the Second World War. We have no abler writer of military history, written with scholarly care and literary finish, than Mr. Catton.

A. N.

Mr. Catton was born in Petoskey, Michigan, in 1899, and was educated at Oberlin College. A journalist of varied experience, he has been Washington correspondent for the NEA service and The Nation. He is now editor of the new general magazine of history, American Heritage.

He won the Pulitzer Prize and the Publishers' Book Award in 1953 for A Stillness at Appomattox.

H. L. DAVIS, novelist
of California

Proposer: Malcolm Cowley
Seconders: Glenway Wescott
Marquis James

H. L. Davis is the most distinguished writer of the Pacific Northwest, which has not been represented in the literary section of the Institute. He was a sheep herder, an itinerant laborer, and a poet, before H. L. Mencken persuaded him to write prose. His books, published as novels, are in reality ballad cycles or collections of tall tales with a footloose hero. Colt-wild and loose-jointed, they catch the look of the Oregon countryside, the speech and laughter of the people, the color of what happened, and they also convey a sense of wonder, as if nobody before had seen his country, let alone finding words for it. He is still a poet, if in prose, and still itinerant.

M. C.

Mr. Davis was born in Yoncalla, Oregon, in 1896, and was educated in the public schools and at Stanford University. His works include: Honey in the Horn, 1935; Harp of a Thousand Strings, 1947; Beulah Land, 1949; Winds of Morning, 1951; Team Bells Woke Me, 1953; and a volume of verse: Proud Riders, 1942.

He won the Levinson poetry prize given by Poetry Magazine in 1919; a Guggenheim fellowship in 1932. His novel Honey in the Horn, which was the Harper Prize Novel in 1935, won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction the following year.

WALLACE FOWLIE, critic
of Vermont

Proposer: Marianne Moore
Seconders: Louis Kronenberger
Louis Untermeyer

His Mallarmé is indispensable for students of the man. His Pantomime is Americana of the most treasurable kind; and has charmed French readers - an account of winters in America and summers in France. It seems derelict to let such a man pursue his researches un-noticed and unemphasized - a reproach to our critical conscience.

M. M.

Mr. Fowlie was born in Brookline, Mass., in 1908. He was educated at Harvard College, where he also took his Ph. D. He is professor of French literature at Bennington College. Among his works are: From Chartered Land, 1939; Ernest Psichari, 1940; Clowns and Angels, 1943; The Spirit of France, 1945; Rimbaud, 1946; Jacob's Night, 1947; Clown's Grail, 1949; Mallarmé as Hamlet; a Study of Igitur, 1949; The Age of Surrealism, 1950. He has also translated, with an introduction and comment, the poems of the sixteenth century French poet, Maurice Scève.

CAROLINE GORDON, novelist
of Minnesota

Proposer: Léonie Adams
Seconders: Malcolm Cowley
Louise Bogan

Caroline Gordon is the author of a number of distinguished novels and short stories published over the last twenty years. Her book-length memoir, *Alec Maury, Sportsman*, ranks with Hudson's *A Shepherd's Life* and Sassoon's *Memoirs.* Her historical fiction, such as *Penhally*, is written with respect for the aesthetic and scholarly requirements of the genre, as well as by one seized with the subject. Yet Miss Gordon has as her truest distinction, perhaps, to have carried on the great nineteenth century Flaubertian-Jamesian tradition in the novel, with increasing technical accomplishment and in a prose worthy of that tradition.

L. A.

Miss Gordon was born in Kentucky in 1895, and was educated at Bethany College. Her works include: *Penhally*, 1931; *Alec Maury, Sportsman*, 1934; *None Shall Look Back*, 1937; *The Garden of Adonis*, 1937; *Green Centuries*, 1941; *The Women on the Porch*, 1944; *The Forest of the South*, 1945; *The Strange Children*, 1951. She is a successful teacher of writing, and is co-editor with her husband, Allen Tate, of *The House of Fiction*, a critical anthology (1950). She is the recipient of an O'Henry Memorial Award, of a Grant in Literature of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, and of a Guggenheim Fellowship in creative writing.

EDITH HAMILTON, classical scholar
of Connecticut

Proposer: Van Wyck Brooks
Seconders: William McFee
Helen Keller

Unique in this country as a first-rate classical scholar, Edith Hamilton is also an excellent writer, the author of *The Greek Way*, *The Roman Way*, *The Prophets of Israel*.

V. W. B.

Miss Hamilton was born in New York City in 1867. She attended Miss Porter's School in Farmington, Conn., and took her B. A. and M. A. at Bryn Mawr. In 1895-96 she studied in Germany at the Universities of Leipzig and Munich, and on her return she organized the Bryn Mawr School at Baltimore, Maryland, where she was headmistress for twenty years. In addition to the works cited above, she has published *Mythology*, 1942; *Witness to the Truth; Christ and His Interpreters*, 1948; and a translation: *Three Greek Plays: Prometheus Bound, Agamemnon, The Trojan Women*, 1937.

HARRY LEVIN, critic
of Massachusetts

Proposer: Marianne Moore
Seconders: Louis Kronenberger
Louis Untermeyer

T. S. Eliot says of Harry Levin's The Overreacher: "the most nearly definitive account of Marlowe, also highly interesting. He [Mr. Levin] is familiar with all the modern textual examination and research into the life of Marlowe and has a profound understanding of the Elizabethan mind."

M. M.

Mr. Levin was born in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1912. After taking his degree at Harvard in 1933 he studied at the University of Paris for a year and returned to Harvard as a junior fellow. He has been a senior fellow since 1947, and since 1948 professor at Harvard. Among his works are: The Broken Column: A Study in Romantic Hellenism, 1932; James Joyce, a Critical Introduction, 1941; Toward Stendhal, 1945; Toward Balzac, 1947; and The Overreacher, a Study of Christopher Marlowe, 1952.

He won a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1943 and a Grant in Literature of the National Institute of Arts and Letters in 1948.

DAVID T. W. McCORD, poet
of Massachusetts

Proposer: M. A. De Wolfe Howe
Seconders: John Mason Brown
Robert Frost

David T. W. McCord, poet and writer of admirable prose, has published numerous books and contributed to many magazines. Much of his verse has been of the lighter variety, but a recent volume and such occasional poems as his Phi Beta Kappa poem, read at William and Mary, speak clearly for his more serious side. Whether in his grave or in his lighter manner, his touch, his curious and effective imagery, are highly individual. His writing in general gains much from his love and knowledge of nature.

M. A. DeW. H.

David T. W. McCord was born in New York in 1897 and was graduated from Harvard University, where he also took his M.A. He is the author of many books of verse and prose, among which are: Oddly Enough, 1926; Floodgate, 1927; Stirabout, 1928; Oxford Nearly Visited, 1929; The Crows, 1934; Bay Window Ballads, 1935; An Acre for Education, 1938; Twelve Verses from XII Night, 1938; And What's More, 1941; On Occasion, 1943; A Star by Day, 1950; Sleeper to Halifax, 1953. Winner of the Jeux Floraux award of the New England Poetry Club, 1941, he was also Phi Beta Kappa poet at Harvard and Tufts in 1938. In 1952 he won the William Rose Benet award.

PHYLLIS McGINLEY, poet
of New York

Proposer: Jacques Barzun
Seconders: Louise Bogan
Marc Connelly

Phyllis McGinley has been practicing the difficult art of light verse for two decades and impressing her readers with her conviction that the genre is not a mere frill adorning the body of poetry, but an integral part of its being. Her latest volume, *The Love Letters of Phyllis McGinley*, displays the poet's range and seriousness. From social observation to the imaginative reconstructions of the lives of saints, her muse sings in technically faultless accents, and communicates ideas that are not merely platitudes dressed up in rhyme and rhythm. Nor does Miss McGinley avoid politics: her Phi Beta Kappa poem on tolerance takes a well-worn theme and raises it to true thought by original illustrations and cosmic overtones. She continues the great tradition which goes back to Swift through W. S. Gilbert, Thomas Hood, Byron, Prior and Gay.

J. B.

Miss McGinley was born in Ontario, Oregon, in 1905, and was educated at the University of Utah and the University of California. She has been a teacher, an advertising copy writer and a magazine editor. Among her publications are the following volumes of verse: *On the Contrary*, 1934; *One More Manhatten*, 1937; *Pocketful of Wry*, 1940; *Husbands Are Difficult*, 1941; *Stones from a Glass House*, 1946; and *A Short Walk from the Station*, 1951. She has also written several children's books, lyrics for revues and film narrations.

MARGARET MEAD, anthropologist
of New York

Proposer: Malcolm Cowley
Seconders: Léonie Adams
Jacques Barzun

Her first book, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, published when Miss Mead was twenty-six years old, was a contribution to anthropology that was also a resounding popular success. Like two later books, *Growing up in New Guinea* and *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, it has been republished in many editions - most recently as a paperbound book - and has come to be regarded as a classic in its field. Miss Mead is both a scientific observer and, in some degree, a social philosopher. She is also a woman of letters who writes in vigorous and comprehensible English, not in the jargon of the social sciences.

M. C.

Margaret Mead was born in Philadelphia in 1901, and was educated at De Pauw University, Barnard College and Columbia University, where she took her Ph. D. in 1929. In addition to the books mentioned above she is the author of An Inquiry into the Question of Cultural Stability in Polynesia, 1928; The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe, 1932; And Keep Your Powder Dry, 1942; Male and Female, 1948; Soviet Attitudes Toward Authority (with Frances MacGregor) 1951; Growth and Culture: A Photographic Study of Balinese Children, 1951. She is associate curator of ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History, and in 1948 was director of Columbia University Research in Contemporary Cultures.

LOUISE TOWNSEND NICHOLL, poet of New York	Proposer: Rolfe Humphries Seconders: John Hall Wheelock Padraic Colum

Louise Townsend Nicholl was one of the founders and editors, in the early twenties, of The Measure, one of the more distinguished poetry magazines of that period. Early this year she was awarded the $5,000 grant of the American Academy of Poetry, the first woman poet to be so honored. During the last three decades she has worked, quite without ostentation, on the poems which were published last year in her Collected Verse. This is work of high distinction: grave without being heavy, spiritual without being unaware of this world, mystical, yet grounded in concrete reality; a poetry of sincerity, calm, religious devotion, a controlled and quiet voice. The election of Miss Nicholl would not only be a proper recognition of her performance, but would also confer added distinction on the Institute.

R. H.

Miss Nicholl was born in Scotch Plains, New Jersey, and was educated at Smith College. Her works include: The Blossom-Print, 1938; Water and Light, 1939; Dawn in Snow, 1941; Life is the Flesh, 1947; The Explicit Flower, 1952. She is a member of the executive board of the Poetry Society of America.

ANNE PARRISH, novelist of Connecticut	Proposer: Glenway Wescott Seconders: Rachel Crothers Isabel Bishop

The work of fiction of Anne Parrish has long been successful, but it has not developed popularity enough to make a celebrity of her. But upon many merits she is a type of literary artist that the National Institute wants to recognize and include. Humorous, sensuous, energetic, fastidious, poignant, her way of writing is never just self-expressive;

it adjusts itself naturally and objectively to different subject-matter. In the satiric novels, especially portraits of rather devilish women, she exercises an almost damaging intelligence, laughable, but held in check by sense of justice, by feeling of fatality. When, on the other hand, she shows affection for her characters, it is serious. She is not sentimental; they grow, and are capable of grief and evil. Old Mortality is in them; and there are always situations and issues worth thinking about.

G. W.

Miss Parrish was born in Colorado in 1888, and was educated in Colorado Springs and Wilmington, Delaware. She has published the following novels: Pocketful of Poses, 1923; Semi-Attached, 1924; The Perennial Bachelor, 1925; Tomorrow Morning, 1926; All Kneeling, 1928; The Methodist Faun, 1929; Floating Island, 1930; Loads of Love, 1932; Sea Level, 1934; Golden Wedding, 1936; Mr. Despondency's Daughter, 1938; Pray for a Tomorrow, 1941; Poor Child, 1945; A Clouded Star, 1948; and Have Not Love, 1954; a volume of short stories, Lustres, 1923, and four children's books (with Dillwyn Parrish).

In 1925 she won the Harper Contest Prize for her Perennial Bachelor.

THEODORE ROETHKE, poet of Washington	Proposer: Kenneth Burke
	Seconders: Malcolm Cowley Louise Bogan

His verse is rare and subtly original, guided by the surest of ears, and at times probing into odd corners of the mind. Yet on the surface it is as simple and limpid as a nursery rhyme, made with the words we heard first. A sometimes puzzling inner melody, an always lovely outer one.

K. B.

Born in Saginaw, Michigan, in 1908, Mr. Roethke was educated at the University of Michigan and at Harvard. He has taught at Lafayette College, Penn State, and Bennington, and is now associate professor of English at the University of Washington. He has published four volumes of verse: Open House, 1941; The Lost Son and Other Poems, 1948; Praise to the End! 1951, and The Waking, 1953.

He has received two Guggenheim Fellowships, the Levinson Prize for Poetry in 1951, and the Pulitzer Prize for The Waking in 1953. In 1952 he won a Grant in Literature of the National Institute of Arts and Letters.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ, poet of New Jersey	Proposer: Louis Untermeyer Seconders: Conrad Aiken John Hall Wheelock

Delmore Schwartz is one of the most sensitive of the younger poets, poets still in their late thirties and early forties. His material is complex and he does not attempt specious simplifications of it. In verse that is intellectual and, at the same time, musical, he presents a many-sided portrait of a young man shaken by the conflict between brute fact and bewildering fantasy, between the demands of emotion and the dictates of the intelligence. No poet of his age has so eloquently rendered the cruelty of time and the threat of change. His writing blends allegory and autobiography - and the result is a kind of mythological elevation: the mythology of our times.

L. U.

Mr. Schwartz was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1913, and was educated at New York University, the University of Wisconsin, and at Harvard, where he taught English for a period. He has published one book of stories: The World is a Wedding, 1948; three volumes of verse: Shenandoah, 1941; Genesis, 1943; Vaudeville for a Princess, 1950; and a collection of critical essays: The Imitation of Life. He received a Grant in Literature from the National Institute of Arts and Letters in 1953.

RICHARD WILBUR, poet of Massachusetts	Proposer: Conrad Aiken Seconders: Louis Untermeyer John Hall Wheelock

Richard Wilbur's second volume of verse, Ceremony, established him as one of the surest and best and most intellectually rewarding of the new generation of American poets. It is a delight to encounter a poet who so obviously knows what he is doing, and why; and who then proceeds to do it with a minimum of fuss and a maximum of precision. This is one of those mature talents on which one can count, for the future, with entire confidence.

C. A.

Born in New York City in 1921, Richard Wilbur took his B. A. at Amherst and his M. A. at Harvard. From 1947 to 1950 he was a member of the Society of Fellows at Harvard, and from 1950 to 1954 he was assistant professor of English there. His first book of poems, The Beautiful Changes, was published in 1947; Ceremony appeared in 1950.

Last year he won the Fellowship of the American Academy of Arts and Letters at the American Academy in Rome.

YVOR WINTERS, poet and critic of California	Proposer: William Saroyan Seconders: Malcolm Cowley Allen Tate

In reading the poetry of Yvor Winters one is impressed by an austere character, a scorn for emotionality, and a devotion to intelligence, clarity, control, order and meaning. Anyone who has followed his work both in poetry and in criticism over the past twenty-five years must be pleased that he is there, going his own classic way, and exerting an extensive if subtle influence.

W. S.

Yvor Winters, a native of Chicago, where he was born in 1900, was educated at the Universities of Chicago, Colorado, and Stanford. He has been on the faculty of Stanford since 1928, as a professor of English since 1949. His works of literary criticism include: Primitivism and Decadence, 1937; Maule's Curse, 1938; The Anatomy of Nonsense, 1943; Edwin Arlington Robinson, 1946; In Defense of Reason, 1947. He is also the author of the following volumes of poetry: The Immobile Wind, 1921; The Magpie's Shadow, 1922; The Bare Hills, 1927; The Proof, 1930; The Journey, 1931; Before Disaster, 1934; Poems, 1940; The Giant Weapon, 1943. His Collected Poems were published in 1952.

Mr. Winters received a Grant in Literature of the National Institute of Arts and Letters in 1952.

W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, New York

May 10, 1955

[illegible]

Mr. Scott Nearing
Forest Farm
Cape Rosier
Maine

Dear Mr. Nearing:

The American members of the World Peace Council are suggesting to the Council, which meets at Helsinki, Finland, June 22-29, 1955, the names of Americans interested in Peace who would be willing to accept membership on the Council if elected.

Such membership involves no especial duties but indicates that the person so elected is interested in world peace and active in its furtherance.

I would be very glad if you would indicate to me at your earliest convenience your attitude toward this nomination.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Dear Dr. DuBois,—

I am willing to do anything that will promote peace. Consequently I shall be happy to serve the W.P.C. in any way within my capacity.

At the moment I cannot get a passport, but that is irrelevant.

(over)

27-14-11

Read in the National Guardian
your excellent talk at the
Hallinan dinner. Sorry we
could not have heard the
talk -

Good cheer Scott Nearing

COPY

[Nearing]

November 29, 1955

Mr. Holland Roberts
California Labor School
321 Divisadero
San Francisco 17, Calif.

Dear Mr. Roberts:

I have hesitated to answer your letters of September 16 and October 29 since the proposal which I have long considered has perhaps some elements of risk, although I think not much.

You remember that in the case of the Peace Information Center, we were asked to register as foreign agents. My objection to such registry was that we would be lying. We were not agents of any organization or government. Others also objected because such registration involved revealing the names of our members and contributors, as we went to court and won.

But that left us with no peace organization. The Peace Crusade was formed to fill the breach. But Albert Kahn, a fine man with the best intentions, proved not fitted for leading, and his co-director, Richardson, was quite impossible. The Crusade has gone out of business. As a result, this nation is the only civilized nation without a real organized peace movement in cooperation with the greatest peace movement of our day, the World Peace Council.

This is intolerable and I have been writhing under this fact. For this reason I and one other undertook to correspond with the secretary of the Council in order that American representation on its board might be secured and be of the right quality. I then suggested to several of the members that we organize openly as a branch of the World Peace Council, under such terms as the Council suggested; and then that we write the Department of Justice. We would tell it just what we had done and who had done it. We would insist that our action was not such as came under the Foreign Registration Law; but that if the Department decided that it did, we would register and make reports; at the same time reserving the right eventually to test the matter in court. Also, we might say that as registered foreign agents we would certainly expect the right to send representatives to the meetings of the World Peace Council.

Write me of your reaction to this proposal.

Scott Nearing

Yours sincerely,

W. E. B. Du Bois

1. An Excellent move: Form a branch of the World Peace Council ~~in~~ in USA by all means.

2. As to writing the Department of Justice, I would vote against it. In this country we have the right of association.

3. If the D. of J. moves against the W.P.C. branch,

27-12-2

fight it out & go to jail rather than submit to this brand of tyranny.

I will do anything I can to help launch a W.P.C. branch in the U.S.A. I have already written to the Secretary – Laffitte, suggesting such action. It is high time ~~that we~~ stood up to the fascist oligarchs in Washington, especially on the subject of peace.

We are sending you, with our good wishes, a book to be published Dec. 12 which reviews our experiences & conclusions re the USA trend –

Scott Nearing

12/5/55

[Neva]

42-4A-213

СОЮЗ СОВЕТСКИХ ПИСАТЕЛЕЙ СССР

«Нева»

Адрес редакции: Ленинград, Невский, 3 Телефоны: А 5-07-03, А 0-71-72

№.................... „........“..................1955 г.

To Dr.W.E.B.Du Bois,New York,U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

the editorial staff of the Neva -a monthly magazine of literature,arts and politics - would be much obliged to you for a short statement of your views on the prospects of the coming year 1956 in the light of the international events that tend to strengthen the people's confidence in securing a lasting peace.

We shall be very glad to receive your answer in time to have it published in our New Year's issue.

Respectfully yours

A.I.Tchernenko,editor-in-chief.

Neva Magazine

Nevske Prospekt 3

Leningrad

C

Типография им. Володарского. Заказ № 2464. Тир. 1000. РИ-464. К печ. 17-11-55 г.

January 5, 1955

New Century Publishers
832 Broadway
New York 3, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

Have you or can you secure all or any of the following books? I can get them through my regular agent but if you could get them and give me the same library discount I should be glad to have you do so.

"New Data for Lenin's 'Imperialism'" by Eugene Varga and L. Mendelsohn
"Marxism and the National Question" by J. Stalin
"The Crisis of Britain and the British Empire" by R.P. Dutt
"The Problem of India" by R. P. Dutt
"American Imperialism" by V. Perlo
"Atomic Imperialism" by J.S. Allen

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-6

[1955]

NEW WORLD REVIEW

23 West Twenty-Sixth Street • New York 10 • MUrray Hill 3-3855

Monday

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In view of the fact that a World Assembly for Peace has been called for the end of May in Helsinki - intended to be the largest and "broadest" and most important yet held - we would very much like to have an article in the May issue of NWR stressing the achievements and the importance of the world peace movement, about which all too little is known in this country. Would you consider doing such an article for us ?

We ourselves have covered the world peace movement very inadequately- there's always so much in current American foreign policy to cover. We should like, if possible, to have the extent of the peace movement in various countries touched upon - for example, the tremendous peace movement that is sweeping Japan - where they carried on a big signature campaign against atomic weapons following the death of the fisherman - the last report said there were over 20,000,000 signatures. If possible, the Stockholm conference for easing world tensions held last fall might be brought in - and the current new campaign of the World Peace Council to gather signatures calling for the destruction of all atomic weapons and the end of their manufacture, opposing the rearming of Germany, and planning for the May Assembly, etc.

We receive bulletins from the World Peace Council reporting what is going on in different countries - I am sure you receive these too, but if you need any material we shall be glad to give you what we have. Of course I do not want you to feel held down by the need for special documentation - anything you wish to say in your own way about the importance of this movement of hundreds of millions of the world's people for peace would be of great value to us.

If you are in a position to do this we should very much like to have the article around the first of April - and suggest that the length be around 1,500 to 2,000 words.

With neighborly greetings !

Jessica Smith

27-17-14

209

March 23, 1955

Miss Jessica Smith
New World Review
23 W. 26 St.
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Jessica:

I will undertake to have ready for you early in April an article of 1500 to 2000 words on the World Peace Movements.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-11-17

[1955]

NEW WORLD REVIEW

23 West Twenty-Sixth Street • New York 10 • MUrray Hill 3-3855

March 24

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am delighted that you will do the article for us. I got a little mixed up about the dates when I was speaking with your secretary about it, and gave her the impression we did not need it until the week after next. If it is at all possible, without putting too much pressure on you, for us to have it by about April 1st that would be wonderful - or in any case by April 4 at the latest, since we are trying not to fall behind again in our publishing date.

The chapter from your novel in last issue of Masses and Mainstream was magnificent - I'm so eager for a chance to read the whole book.

Sincerely yours,

Jessica Smith

27-11-4

[New World Review]

March 25, 1955

MEMORANDUM TO MISS SMITH

I'm afraid I must depend on your office for data on the Peace Movement, viz:

1. Date and place of each congress since the Paris meeting of 1949.
2. Note of chief actions, like the Stockholm Appeal, with record of signatures.
3. Text of annual declarations.
4. Officials
5. Other important and significant data.

My files on this are incomplete.

If you can assemble this matter in one place I can come and consult it; or you can send it up here.

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-17-18

[1955]

NEW WORLD REVIEW

23 West Twenty-Sixth Street • New York 10 • MUrray Hill 3-3855

September 13

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We are now planning our special November anniversary issue of New World Review, to be devoted to the 38th anniversary of the Soviet Union.

We would very much like to devote a page to a greeting from you - on whatever you feel most needs to be said about the achievements of the Soviet Union and its role in the world today and American-Soviet relations.

A page would mean from 400 to 500 words. Of course if what you want to say takes more than that, we would be very happy to have a longer article. I am suggesting something brief only because I know how occupied you are with your book and other matters and do not want to put any extra burden on you.

We would like to have the article in hand by September 26th if possible, and would appreciate hearing whether it will be possible for you to do it.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Jessica Smith

Jessica Smith

Sent on Sept 22 55

27-11-23

2 Views of USSR

| It exists

2 Russians are better off

Cf with U.S.A

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Industrialism

Art & Science

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3 That it was possible

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5 That it invaded us

6 The war meant aim to [illegible]

[New World Review]

42/1A/19

December 28, 1955

Miss Jessica Smith
23 West 26 street
New York City

$15

Enclosed please find my check for [redacted], which I hope will cover my use of your phone for the year 1955. Let me know if it does not.

W. E. B. Du Bois

["New World Review"] MEMO FROM
JESSICA SMITH

[1956]

42-1A-109

Dear Dr. Dubois -

This is a rough translation, into which some grammatical errors may have slipped, but I think the general meaning is accurate. I seem to remember that you have been through all this once before!

J.S.

48-11-125

[Comm. to [illegible]]

NEW YORK COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL
1050 Sixth Avenue, New York 18, N.Y. LO 4-9585

May 5, 1955.

Dear Friend:

Two years ago, the world was horrified by the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. In the two years that have passed, this wanton attack on human rights and liberties has become cleared. Every major government witness in the Rosenberg-Sobell case has now been shown, as a matter of public record, to have been a perjurer. Roy Cohn, of the prosecution, has been accused of encouraging perjury.

The job remains to free Morton Sobell -- to return him to life and to his family Every day, the picture of fraud and intimidation used in this case becomes more widely known. More and more Americans from all walks of life are rallying to his support.

We are now approaching the Memorial period for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and our dedication to the fight for freedom for Morton Sobell and ourselves. June 1953 will never be forgotten.

For this purpose, we are holding a gathering at Carnegie Hall, 57th Street, between 5th and 6th Ave., on June 16th, 1955.

Morton Sobell can be freed with your help. We are enclosing two exchange tickets. Sell them now and order more. As soon as you return these exchange tickets with the money, we will mail you the regular Carnegie Hall tickets. Make your checks payable to Helen Sobell or to the Sobell Committee.

We are counting on you.

Sincerely yours,

Aaron Schneider

Aaron Schneider
NEW YORK COMMITTEE

38-11-69

June 1, 1955

TO THE NEW YORK COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE FOR
MORTON SOBELL

I was brought up with an unflinching faith in English and American justice. My greatest charge against the Southern states of the United States was the injustice of violence and lynching, even beyond discrimination in opportunity.

In my later years I have come to realise that ~~our~~ jails are full of innocent men and that persons of whose innocence I have not the slightest doubt, like Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, have been judicially killed for no crime.

For this reason I am astonished and indignant that Morton Sobell is in jail, when the accusations against him have never been proven, when his accusers for the most part are self-confessed liars and when the courts have never given him a fair chance to prove his innocence.

This nation can never be a Democracy until he receives a fair trial.

W.E.B. Du Bois

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
A European Edition is Published Daily in Paris

PEnnsylvania 6-4000

230 West 41st Street, New York 36

Jan. 29, 1955

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I wish to acknowledge and thank you for your letter, which has just been received at this office. It has been placed before the Editor for his attention.

Yours very truly,
F. S. Stryker
Secretary to the Editor

27-10-87

27-10-86

The New York Times
TIMES SQUARE NEW YORK 36 N Y
LAckawanna 4-1000

February 3, 1955

Hon. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Your letter has been noted by the editorial staff, which appreciates your interest in writing. It is always helpful to receive the opinions of our readers, although unfortunately it is not possible to publish as many comments as we would wish, due to space considerations and the volume of the mail.

Sincerely yours,

L. P. Huger

L. P. Huger
Letters Editor

"ALL THE NEWS THAT'S FIT TO PRINT"

January 10, 1955

Dr. F. E. Norman
8756 Buffalo Avenue
Chicago 17, Illinois

Dear Dr. Norman:

I have been unable to devote any further time to "Black Sam Fraunces".

You might correspond with George Padmore, 22 Cranleigh House, Cranleigh Street, London N.W. 1, England.

Padmore is a newspaper man born in the West Indies and very familiar with American Negro history. He might be able to find something in the British Museum. In writing him you may refer to me.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

27-16-20

F. M. O'Brien
ANTIQUARIAN
BOOKSELLER

AUTOGRAPHS, BOOKS, HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS
& PAPERS, PAMPHLETS, PRINTS & ENGRAVINGS
OF AMERICAN INTEREST....

AMERICAN, ENGLISH, & FOREIGN LITERATURE
A SPECIALTY

No. 34 & 36 High Street · Portland 3 · Maine

March 1, 1955

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

May I belatedly extend my warmest congratulations on your 87th birthday.

OLD DEERFIELD BOND
COTTON CONTENT

I have been following your series of articles on Africa in the Guardian with great interest, and recently I read for the second time, Black Reconstruction.

It is a work of great scholarship, but even more I am certain that it will be an enduring example of saeva indignatio for the wrongs done to human beings.

Your work is in the best American tradition, that of Douglass, Phillips, Parker, and the rest of that devoted group of humanists, who were the truest lovers of their country. Like Swift, you and they have been driven by "perfect rage and resentment, and the mortifying sight of slavery, folly, and baseness."

It has often occurred to me how much the people of Irish descent in this country need a DuBois to synthesize their true history.

Please accept the enclosed memento of Theodore Parker, a note he wrote to the Portland abolitionist, Oliver Dennett, a Quaker, who organized most of the great abolition meetings here.

With great respect,

Francis M. O'Brien

27-16-16

March 23, 1955

Mr. Francis M. O'Brien
34 & 36 High Street
Portland 3, Maine

Dear Mr. O'Brien:

I appreciate the greeting which you kindly sent me on my birthday, and your note concerning my writings.

I shall also treasure the autograph of Theodore Parker.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-16-17

27-16-18

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, INC.
114 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

TELEPHONE: WATKINS 4-1200

April 15, 1955

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We take pleasure in sending you, under separate cover, a copy of THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW, by C.Vann Woodward, with our compliments. The book will be published on May 12, 1955.

We hope you will find Mr. Woodward's book of interest, and we should be happy to have your comments on it. If you do have any comments may we have your permission to quote you publicly?

Sincerely yours,

Fon W. Boardman, Jr.
Advertising & Publicity
Manager

FWB:is

May 31, 1 955

Mr. F. W. Boardman, Jr.
Oxford University Press, Inc.
114 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Boardman:

I thank you for sending me a copy of C. Vann Woodward's THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW.

I have read it with interest.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-16-19

1

GEORGE PADMORE
22 CRANLEIGH HOUSE
CRANLEIGH STREET
LONDON N. W. 1.

January 12,1955.

39-10-146

Dear and esteemed Dr,

Just got back from Paris where I went over the Xmas holiday to meet Negro and Arab African leaders.I presume that you are closely following through the press events in the French territories.It is hell there.But the nationalists are fighting back.This is just a few lines of greetings to you and Shirley for the new year with our best wishes for good health,peace and moderate prosperity throughout 1955. We are awaiting your contribution on Pan-Africanism for the special issue of United Asia which the editor wants to get out in time for the Asia-Africa conference to take place in Indonesia at the end of April.We must get the MSS. to him by the first week in Feb.in time to go to press and distribute over wide distances before April.Please send us any thing that you can throw together.I appreciate that the time was short and that you are very busy.As soon as I have the time I shall take us the discussion of Wright's book, which as a factual account and first person impression was excellent.The G.C.leaders who have been here and read it endorse his discriptions of their country.Dorothy who spent last summer touring the country also brought back similar impressions.We may differ on emphasis and political interpretation.But Wright neither endorses capitalist-imperialism or communism as the only alternative.An attitude which leftish Negroes in a western world setting find it difficult to understand.It is either one or the other.That is what the American rulers say: Communism or anti-Communism.The Asians and Africans having experienced only recently imperialism completely reject that system,but they don't necessary intend to join the other camp.They are all striving to find a middle road,adopting features from both systems and applying the synthesis to the historical circumstances and traditions of of their countries.Social customs are stubborn things and cannot be just brushed aside without arousing violent opposition among a nearly 100 per cent illiterate population.

The idea goal would be partiamentary democracy under the rule of law coupled with Soviet economic planning under State auspices, for the people are too poor to provide the necessary capital to pay for their Industrial Revolution. At the same time they are afraid of borrowing for this means economic enslavement. Whether they will suwceed waits to be seen. But they are all aiming at some Third Way OUT system. It will be one of the things the Asia-African conference will discuss. How can the coloured lands pool their resources and know how to keep the East and West at bay. It is a fascinating intellectual exercise. There is a complete break with the old patterns of thinking. The leaders all want Peace for without peace there can be no possibility of rebuilding Asia and Africa. From this point of view they consider America a greater menace that Russia. They know that Russia & China also need peace. That is why China was invited to the conf. And because the G.C. is the "lighthouse" in the African ocean, Nkrumah has been invited. The main theme will be anti-Colonialism and anti-Racism. The British Govt. is worried. They accuse the coloured races of ganging up to split the Commoneealth. Confidentially, if S.A. veto G.C. entry into the Commoneralth, the Asian members intend pulling out. So Eden is going out to appease them. This year is going to be the big show down. With all the best. Sincerely, G.P.

Your prediction that this is going to be the century of the coloured man is coming true. Regardless of ideological differences, they are united against white arrogance.

First fold here

To open cut here

Dr W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street,
New York City 10
U.S.A.

Sender's name and address:

Second fold here

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE; IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION
AIR LETTER
AEROGRAMME

LONDON N.W.1
PM
JAN 1955
B

The idea goal would be partiamentary democracy under the rule of law coupled with Soviet economic planning under State auspices,for the people are too poor to provide the necessary capital to pay for their Industrial Revolution.At the same time they are afraid of borrowing for this means economic enslavement.Whether they will suwceed waits to be seen.But they are all aiming at some Third ~~X~~Way OUT system.It will be one of the things the Asia-African conference will discuss.How can the coloured lands pool their resources and know how to keep the East and West at bay.It is a fascinating intellectual exercise. There is a complete break with the old patterns of thinking.The leaders all want Peace for without peace there can be no possibility of rebuilding Asia and Africa.From this point of view they consider America a greater menace that Russia.They know that Russia & China also need peace.That is why China was invited to the conf.And because the G.C.is the"lighthouse" in the African ocean,Nkrumah has been invited.The main theme will be anti-Colonialism and anti-Racism.The British Govt.is worried.They accuse the coloured races of ganging up to split the Commoneealth.Confidentially,if S.A.veto G.C.entry into the Commoneralth,the Asian members intend pulling out.So Eden is going out to appease them.This year is going to be the big shew down.With all the best .Sincerely, G.T.

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BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION
AIR LETTER
AEROGRAMME

LONDON N.W.1
12 PM
14 JAN
1955
B

POSTAGE POSTAGE
EIIR
6 SIXPENCE 6

Dr W.E.B.Du Bois

23 West 26th Street,

New York City 10

U.S.A.

← Second fold here →

Sender's name and address :

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE; IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

To open cut here ←

them.This year is going to be the big show down.With all the best

January 27, 1955

Mr. George Padmore
22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London N.W. 1
England

Dear Padmore:

I have read your letter of January 12, and read it with great interest. I wait for your letters impatiently because they tell so much which we do not get here.

The situation in the United States now is almost unbelievable, with suppression, omission and distortion of news. You refer, for instance, to trouble in French Africa; we have news of Tunis and Morocco, but nothing from Black Africa, French West Africa and Equatorial Africa.

How is D'Arboussier's "Rassemblement" getting on? Two of my books have been re-published -- "Suppression of the African Slave Trade to America," 1906, new edition 1954; and "Souls of Black Folk," 1903, republished 1953. I sent both of these to you for Xmas, but my secretary wrote "32" instead of "22", and back they came yesterday. We sent them again last night.

The publishers sent me Wright's book and I read it. But I have not reviewed it. I don't like Wright. The Communists of America started him on his career. It is quite possible that some of them presumed on this help and tried to push him around. They, like most human beings, are often narrow and ignorant. But because of that to slur Communism as such, to slander Russia and above all, to spit on American Negroes is too much for an honest artist. Wright has great talent and his descriptions of West Africa are literature; but to write a book to attack Communism in Africa when there has been no Communism in Africa, and when the degradation of Africa is due to that Capitalism which Wright is defending -- this is sheer contradiction.

I realize what Nkrumah is trying to do in West Africa. It is doubtless true that the only peaceful way of progress for the African Negro now is to avoid affiliation with Communism; but it is also dangerous and wrong to attack Communism in other lands and among other groups. The Soviet Union was driven to Communism against her choice at the time; despite this and against spies, traitors, and armed force, Communism in the Soviet Union is a marvellous success, and it is a disgrace for people who know this to join the jackals who are lying about Soviet conditions and trying to overthrow Russia by force. I know. I have visited Russia three times and read literature about it. Let Africans and West Indians seek the "middle way" and refuse at least now to adopt Communism or Communist alliance. But let them also steadfastly refuse to join in the lying chorus attacking Russia, and let them treat the Soviet Union with courtesy and respect.

27-174-44

There is a grave danger in the "middle way" when it comes to capital. Of course Africa needs and must have capital goods and technique. There are both in plenty and eager to enter Africa. They are already well seated in the Nile Valley, in South and central Africa, and it will take force to loosen their grip. Ethiopia is playing a smooth game balancing off different and rival capitalist groups against each other. But Ethiopia would best not forget that capital easily unites when profit beckons. Once stationed on the Volta, I am afraid that the leaders of the Gold Coast will have a hell of a time ridding themselves of its grip.

Home accumulation of capital can only be accomplished by self-denial, such as the Russian people have endured now a generation, and such as Gandhi preached. If the West Coast will forego European food and clothes, and luxuries like motor cars and refrigerators and radios, they can in a generation accumulate enough capital to build their own dams. The rank and file can do this; can the leaders?

I have great hopes of the Colored Conference in Indonesia. I hope you will be there. I sent my article on Pan-Africa to Douglas G. Rogers, 318 Regents Park Road, January 10th. He should have it by now. If he does not, cable me.

Strong influences in the United States are determined on war with China or Russia or both. The resistance is small. Most Americans of prominence are silent. They do, however, fear adverse European opinion. There should be more of it more openly expressed. For me it is practically impossible to get publicity for anything I do or say or write. Even the Negro press is closed.

Shirley has had a disappointing time with her last book. It is on Ann Royal, a forgotten Southern American white newspaper woman, and Aaron Burr. It has been praised and rejected by 18 publishers. The last accepted it, wrote a contract, paid in advance, and prepared it for the printer -- and then deliberately broke the contract. We could have forced publication but they would have killed the book. The chief editor resigned. Shirley sent the manuscript to Ella Winter in London (widow of Lincoln Steffens and now wife of Donald Ogden Stewart, actor and author). They are both living in London but I haven't the address). Ella gave it to Johnathan Cape; he thought that the history involved was too unknown for English readers. Ella Winters has the manuscript and Shirley told her to get your advice. Shirley is a good writer and over 100,000 copies of her six books have been sold. But now she is on the black list because of me and her own associations with liberal causes.

Write again soon. Our love to you and Dorothy.

DB:lh W.E.B. Du Bois

27-174-45

February 16, 1955

Mr. George Padmore
22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London N.W. 1
England

My dear Mr. Padmore:

Enclosed is a letter from the widow of Dr. Armattoe. Of course you remember him and know of his death.

I am wondering if anything can be done by the government of the Gold Coast to help the widow and her children.

I remember that Nkrumah and Armattoe did not get on together politically but perhaps Nkrumah will see that it would be to the advantage of the Gold Coast to make some effort in this rather pitiful case.

Mrs. Armattoe is a very nice woman. Perhaps you or Dorothy could drop her a line.

With best regards,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
enc.

27-15-19

GEORGE PADMORE
22 CRANLEIGH HOUSE
CRANLEIGH STREET
LONDON N. W. 1.

March 10th 1955.

Dear Dr,

So much to do,so little time.This is just a brief note to relieve your anxiety concerning Mrs Armattoe.This is a delicate matter which required careful approach.I can assure you that if Nkrumah was in a position to help the lady and her children,he would gladly do so.But unlike President Tubman,a Prime Minister only has access to his salary.All funds out of the public exchequer has to be voted by Parliament,and it will surely not give aid to the widow of a private citizen even if Armattoe was the most famous man in the country.British administration with all its faults is not conducted on the Latin American level,where public officials can appoint their relatives and friends to jobs.All appointments are made by a Public Service Commission which is an independent of the Government as the Judges of the Supreme Court.I mention all this,because one hears so much criticism that Nkrumah does not give money away to all the needy out of the public purse or provide jobs for every one who thinks that they are entitled to high office simply because he is a member of the C.P.P.Once Mrs Armattoe understands the official set-up,she may feel less annoyed why ~~the~~ even an African Government can't just despatch her cheque for the maintenance of herself and her children.After all,her husnad was never a public servant on which basis it might have been possible to approach the Government for assistance.On the other hand,his professional conduct was very much criticised by his own tribesmen(the Ewes) of Togoland where he had to leave and take refuge in Kumasi(the capital of Ashanti province)because he overcharged the poor with no results.Armattoe was never any challenge to Nkrumah politically, but he was definitely unpopular among his own tribesmen because of his conceit and arrogance.So even if I made an appeal to them through the Gold

27-15-20

[2]

Coast press, they will not respond. I have discussed the lady's position with the Ewes here and not one has a good word to say for her late husband. They feel that was considering all the money he took from the poor in exorbitant fees. Africans as a rule don't bear resentment against people, and their resentment to Armattoe shows the depth of their feelings. They give me the impression that Armattoe was a poseur who bluffed his way through life among foreigners who did not realise that he represented nothing in his own country. So when I mentioned your remark to Gold Coast officals here that Armattoe "did not get together politically with Nkrumah", they laughed. It was like comparing Churchill and myself in the context of tory politics. Nobody ever heard about Armattoe except his patients. His only political role was to collect some money from some Ewe chiefs to send him to U.N. as their spokesman. But he never enjoyed any mass following and never presented himself for election. So there is no question of political prejudice against his wife. Please inform her to write to Mr Azu Mate, Welfare Officer, Gold Coast Commissioner Office, Melbourne House, Aldwych, London, W.C.2, and he will arrange a job

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BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION
AIR LETTER
AEROGRAMME

LONDON N.W.1
11 MCH
1955
B

Dr W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10
U.S.A.

← Second fold here →

Sender's name and address:

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER
MAY BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

To open

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BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION
AIR LETTER
AEROGRAMME

LONDON N.W.1
1 MCH
1955
B

Dr W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
NEW YORK 10
U.S.A.

← Second fold here →

Sender's name and address:

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER MAY BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

To open

for her either in London or the Gold Coast providing that she can type or in possession of some clerical qualifications.The children will them be educated free up to university grade.But it is out of the question for government to send her money.How will they do it? What would Parliament say to the Prime Minister if he made such a fantastic suggestion to pay for the education of two little girls when even the European children in the Gold Coast attend the same schools as the natives. So please advise her not to make any such suggestion when writing Mr Azu Mate.He is the son of the late Paramount Chief,Sir Azu Mate,and is in charge of the welfare of Gold Coast students over here.They are more than I,000 in addition to 50 in German universities.All sent by Nkrumah's "Dictatorship" Govt to study from medicine to atomic physics.Will write about Shirley's MSS in my next.I have asked the Minister of State to send you all recent reports on Gold Coast Industrial Revolution as I get the impression that you are fed upon all the slanders,rumours and misrepresentions from the enemy(chiefs,tribalist seperatists like the Ashanti traditionalists who want to go back to the days of human sacrifice and slave trade)plus the British capitalist interests out to smash the cocoa marketing State control monopoly which Nkrumah adopted out of the Russian book and applied to local conditions.Only the Gold Coast State can now sell cocoa to protect the farmers from the foreign capitalist sharks and native petty bourgeois middle men.Thus all the talk about "black dictatorship and Nkrumah introducing Communism".Who says so?Discredited politicians like Dr Danquah,and aspiring African capitalist elements.Unfortunately,the British communists are playing the same game,and as a result,the courts here recently awarded the U.A.C.£5,000 damages against the London Daily Worker for accusing them of exploiting the farmers.Whereas in fact,the U.A.C.is out of the export business since Nkrumah set up the Cocoa Marketing Board.The D.W.was still thinking of the days when Archie Nichoi poured out his heart at the Pan-African Congress.Those days are over.The revolution is on the march.And that is why Wright's book is the best report on what is happening.The struggle for self govt.is the least important aspect of the revolution.It is the challenge of the barefoot masses against the black aristocracy and middle class that fascinates.With all the best,

Yours sincerely, George Padmore.

March 25, 1955

Mr. George Padmore
22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London N.W. 1

My dear Padmore:

I have your letter of March 10. I have written to Mrs. Armattoe a letter, copy of which I enclose. I hope it may help in some respect.

I think we understand the situation on the Gold Coast pretty well, but as I have intimated before I am still worried about its leading ideals. I have just come from three weeks in Haiti. I rested diligently and had a lovely time amid its sunshine and flowers. But there again I was tremendously upset even by the attempts at economic and political reform.

What I am afraid of in the case of Nkrumah and Asiwikwe is that they will think that they can save West Africa by a species of reformed capitalism in which benevolent white industrialists will have a philanthropic share. In that direction I am convinced lies disaster. But on the other hand I am quite sure that both you and Nkrumah are keenly aware of this danger. A year or so ago I had a chance to express these fears clearly to Asiwikwe, but the last "great battle of the West" is taking place in West Africa today, and so much depends upon it that we must all be jittery.

I am especially distressed to see such a person as Richard Wright desert a great human cause. I am glad, however, to know that you believe in him and I shall be delighted to find you justified.

I am not at all diverted or deceived by desertions from the Nkrumah cause as illustrated in the case of Appiah. That kind of division and leadership is always the curse of new causes. Here in the United States we have just reached the end of such an era in the death of Walter White.

Shirley and I join in best love to you and Dorothy.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-15-22

April 29, 1955

Mr. George Padmore
22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London N.W. 1
England

My dear Padmore:

I want to thank you very much for the printed material which you sent me, especially concerning the Gold Coast. They have been very illuminating.

Nkrumah's reply to the charge of bribery taking was thoroughly convincing, and I think, too, that his statement concerning the Volta project was good.

27-15-23

Also, I am deeply convinced that the attempt of the Ashanti or any other part of the Gold Coast to set themselves up separately and try for federation is unthinkable, and I hope the movement against it will be successful. I do not suppose that there is anything I could do in that connection, but if there is, let me know.

I sent a strong statement to the Bandung Congress. I do not know whether it ever reached there.

I think I have convinced Mrs. Armattoe concerning what she can expect and what is impossible.

I have just spent three weeks in Haiti on vacation. I half-expected to be turned back but was very pleasantly received.

My best regards to you and Dorothy.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-17A-53

New Times and Ethiopia News

(WEEKLY)

Editor: E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

All Communications to:
"WEST DENE"
3 CHARTERIS ROAD
WOODFORD GREEN
ESSEX : ENGLAND
Telephone:
BUCkhurst 2463

7th April, 1955.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Ph.D.,
23 West 26th Street,
New York, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

Your Ref........................
Our Ref. ESP/MF.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Mr. Ngumbu Njururi is a Kikuyu. He was studying here for law, but the income he received from his father has completely stopped, and he can get no contact with his family. He knows that his mother and grandmother were killed or died when in the hands of the Kenya Police, and his sister was imprisoned for a time but has been released.

He has a letter from the Foreign Office to state that owing to the fact that the people of his area would not give information about the Mau Mau, there was collective punishment, and his father's plantations were destroyed.

He has been offered a scholarship at one American University, which would involve paying his fare and finding $200 for his board and lodging, above what the University would allow him on the scholarship.

He has also been offered a scholarship at Fisk~~e~~, but this would mean $500 above what the University would allow.

I wonder whether there is any hope in America through any other Institution? Can you advise?

Yours sincerely,

E. Sylvia Pankhurst

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

[New Times & Ethiopia News]

May 4, 1955

Miss E. Sylvia Pankhurst
New Times and Ethiopia News
West Dene
3 Charteris Road
Woodford Green
Essex, England

My dear Miss Pankhurst:

I have your letter of April 7th concerning Mr. Ngumbu Njururi. I would advise his writing to President Horace Bond, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania. This is the institution where Nkrumah and Asiwike studied and they have a considerable number of Negro students.

Personally I would have no connections or influence which would help him secure scholarships at any universities. I am at present as I have told you, what is called in America "a controversial person" because I insist that a man can be a Socialist or a Communist or anything else that he so desires and that punishment and discrimination because of belief is barbarism.

I am not enthusiastic about the kind of teaching that Africans are going to get in American universities but I realize that it is probably their best chance for getting any teaching at all.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

27-17A-54

February 9, 1955

Reverend George G. Parker
Congregational Church of Manhasset
Manhasset, New York

Dear Sir:

The letter which went to you should have gone to Dr. George F. Parker.

A clerical error in some way substituted your name and address.

I am sorry that you were annoyed.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. DU Bois

DB:lh

[1955]

MORRIS PEARLMUTTER, M.D.
~~54 EAST 61ST STREET~~
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

TELEPHONE TEMPLETON 8-5451

41/16/24

BARIUM ENEMA PREPARATION

EVENING BEFORE APPOINTMENT:

Between 6 and 7 P.M. eat a light meal.
Take nothing by mouth thereafter, except

At 9 P.M. take 2 teaspoonsful of compound licorice powder in ½ glass of water.

DAY OF APPOINTMENT:

EAT NO BREAKFAST. DRINK NO WATER.
Two hours before leaving home, take a 2 quart plain warm water enema LYING ON BACK. Use entire 2 quarts at one time. Spend 20 minutes on seat for complete evacuation. Then repeat enema and spend 20 minutes on seat exactly the same as first time.

APPT. AT 1^{30} P.M ON Tues - June 14th

AT THE OFFICE OF:

Dr. Arnold Bachman
829 Park Avenue
at 76th Street

January 6, 1956

Mrs.R. Buckman, Secretary
Peoples Victory Forum
33 Greenock Street
Dorchester, Mass.

Dear Mrs. Buckman:

Following up my letter of October 28th in answer to yours of October 14th, let me say that I would be glad to speak at your forum sometime in the spring, if it lasts that long.

I do not think it would be wise for me to try to bear Boston weather in February, but if your forum has a session in late March or April I would be willing to undertake it.

If not, I thank you just the same for your kind offer.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

27-10-12

[Poland]

AMBASADA
POLSKIEJ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ LUDOWEJ
W WASZYNGTONIE

EMBASSY
OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
2640 16th STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

May 5, 1955

Dear Sir:

During 1955 Poland will complete its Six Year Plan, an important phase of which is the rebuilding of the capital, Warsaw, ruthlessly and methodically destroyed by retreating Nazis a decade ago.

Workmen in Warsaw today are completing construction of a new stadium in which the Second International Youth Athletic Games will take place during the first two weeks of August. The city itself will be host to some 30,000 young men and women from abroad who are to come to it for the Fifth World Youth Festival from July 31 to August 15. Earlier this summer Warsaw will welcome thousands of foreign guests who will visit it following the 24th International Fair at Poznan, scheduled from July 3 to 24.

27-12-45

At this time, therefore, it is a pleasure to send to you for your library a copy of the English edition of the volume, "The Six-Year Plan for the Reconstruction of Warsaw." The text of the book is from an address made before a Warsaw Conference of the Polish United Workers Party on July 3, 1949 by Boleslaw Bierut. Diagrams, plans and perspectives were worked out by architects and engineers of the Warsaw City Planning Office.

Many of the projects outlined in this volume, published in January 1951, have already been completed. Thousands of citizens of the capital live in new apartments of the Marszalkowska development in downtown Warsaw; thousands of others are in apartments in other newly-developed areas, among them Muranow - site of terrible devastation following the uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto against the Nazis in 1943.

A considerable part of the most ancient community of Warsaw - Old Town - has been rebuilt, including its famous Market Square and its rare barbican and defense wall. Motion picture houses mentioned in this volume as being planned are now open and crowded with movie fans nightly. The month-long Fifth International Chopin Competition for young pianists, which ended on March 21, was held in reconstructed Warsaw Philharmonic Hall, completed just prior to the start of that event. Reconstruction of the Opera House is under way.

There have been some changes in the original 6-Year Plan for Warsaw, a number of them resulting from the erection of the tallest building in Poland - the 750-foot Palace of Culture and Science, a gift from the Soviet Union to Poland. The foundations of the structure were dug in the spring of 1952. The completed Palace will be opened on Liberation Day, the Polish national holiday, July 22.

Progress in the reconstruction of Warsaw has been so rapid that visitors from other countries have been deeply impressed. There have been those who have said that this city, seven centuries old and one decade new, will soon be the most beautiful capital in Europe.

We hope that this volume will be of some interest to you and of some help in making clear the great efforts of the Polish people in the peaceful construction of their capital during the first decade following the establishment of the Polish People's Republic.

Sincerely yours,

Czeslaw Gronostaj, Attache
In Charge of Cultural Affairs

27-12-46

CG:jh

[Poland -]

June 1, 1955

Mr. Czeslaw Gronostaj
Attache in Charge of Cultural Affairs
Embassy of the Polish Peoples Republic
2640 16th Street, N.W.
Washington 9, D.C.

My dear Mr. Gronostaj:

I and my wife, Shirley Graham, want to thank you very much for the beautiful volume on the destruction and re-building of Warsaw. It is a magnificent momento of a great effort.

I saw Warsaw in 1950 after a trip to Russia and my wife saw it in 1949. We were both overcome by a destruction which seemed impossible in civilized times, and amazed at the energy which you were already showing toward re-building.

We shall cherish this book with great joy, and thank you for it.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-12-47

["Présence Africaine"]

PRÉSENCE AFRICAINE

REVUE CULTURELLE DU MONDE NOIR

Paris, le 13 avril 1955

27-13-20

Cher Monsieur le Professeur,

Nous avons bien reçu votre lettre du 29 mars, et nous vous en remercions très vivement.

Nous sommes très heureux que vous ayez accepté d'écrire un article pour la partie : "l'Afrique vue par l'intelligentsia noire américaine ". Nous vous demandons cependant, que vous en soyez le responsable, quitte à demander des témoignages à d'autres noirs, représentatifs, comme vous de l'élite intellectuelle de couleur en Amérique. Il est évident que vous le ferez, si vous le jugez nécessaire.

Les textes ne doivent pas dépasser 100 pages dactylographiées. La date limite de réception à nos bureaux est fixée à la fin juillet.

Un contrat d'auteur sera signé entre vous et nous après réception des textes.

D'autre part, nous aimerions bien publier dans notre périodique très prochainement, un article de vous sur une question d'actualité.

En attendant de vous lire, veuillez agréer Monsieur le Professeur, l'assurance de nos sincères salutations.

La Rédaction,

Mario Andrade

P.S. Parmi les personnalités qui ont répondu à notre appel, mais avec lesquelles nous n'avons aucun engagement, se comptent :

../..

17, RUE DE CHALIGNY, PARIS (XII°)   C. C. P. PARIS 59.36.25

- Era Bell Thompson
  (managing Editor, Ebony -)
- Dr Horace Mann Bond
  (President Lincoln University)
- Mr. and Mrs. Leo Hansberry

Je vous signale tous ces noms, à simple titre d'information.

D'autre part, voici l'adresse de Monsieur Allen, notre représentant en Amérique pour la constitution de ce cahier spécial. :

M. Allen
c/o American Express
649 - 5th Avenue
New York, 22, N.YK

M. le Professeur Dubois
23 west 26 th Street
New York, 10

[Présence Africaine]

PRÉSENCE AFRICAINE

REVUE CULTURELLE DU MONDE NOIR

Paris, le 19 Décembre 1955

Monsieur le Dr. W.E. B. Du BOIS
31, Grace Court
Brooklyn 2
NEW-YORK

42-1A-59

Cher Monsieur,

Voudriez-vous avoir l'obligeance de nous aider :

1°) à faire diffuser cet appel dans la presse américaine? Accepteriez-vous que votre nom soit ajouté à cet appel ?

2°) à nous faire trouver un éditeur américain du livre de Cheikh Anta Diop " Nations Nègres et Culture ".

Nous serions heureux de trouver un appui auprès des Noirs américains qui sont homme de culture.

Dans l'attente d'une réponse favorable, veuillez agréer, Cher Monsieur, l'expression de notre considération distinguée.

Mme A Diop

Madame A. DIOP

17, RUE DE CHALIGNY, PARIS (XII°)

C. C. P. PARIS 59.36.25

1655 Washington Ave,
Bronx 57, N.Y.
Nov. 6, 1955

Dear Dr. DuBois:

My last issue of the National Guardian (11-7-55) informs me that you will be "featured speaker" at the Debs Centennial Meeting on Nov. 28th. I wonder whether you are aware of the character of this meeting. In the first place, the American Socialist is a disguised Trotskyite organ. This is proven (with documentation) in the Feb. 1955 issue of Turning Point. Although a copy of this issue was sent you at the time, I am enclosing another in the hope of your renewed attention.

In the second place, the Monthly Review has been a close ally of the American Socialist. It grows constantly more anti-Soviet. We are now witnessing an alliance, predicted by us, of weak journals amalgamating themselves to the detriment of the best (the Guardian). The result will be "socialist" anti-communism. And who will be its heroes?

There is no real Communist PArty in the U.S. today--a bleak, dangerous vacuum. Derelict people (good and bad derelicts) enter the vacuum as a result of passing pressures. But we will not be helped by mediocre medleys of disillusioned ex-Communists, frustrated liberals, and disguised Trotskyites uniting to offer America still another "respectable" detour from Marxism-Leninism. America has plenty of "operators" ready to assume "respectable" positions in mutual admiration circles. What we need is far-seeing, fearless, patient people who can refuse to be admired members of the next warm historical farce (such as Bert Cochran's Western Marxist, Anglo-Saxon, Hubert Humphrey-type third party).

We need--and will get the hard way (not through political cheese-cake attractions)--a real scientific, Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

We hope that you will investigate the implications of this Centennial Misuee of Debs' good name--and withdraw.

I would appreciate an opportunity to speak to you at an early date.

Comradely,
Earl Price
Earl Price
for Turning Point

42-1A-58

1655 Washington Ave.
Bronx 57, N.Y.
Nov. 15, 1955

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your reply received today. Of course, I agree with you that speaking before an organization does not necessarily reflect complete identification with the views of its membership. However, in the case of the American Socialist engineering, there is something worthy of complete disapproval in the project.

Thank you for your courteous and prompt invitation for a talk. I am free Mon. morning or evening or Wed. evening. Will you suggest the time and place?

I remember an article you wrote--I think--for Freedom in which you took issue with the (CPUSA) concept of the American Negroes as a nation. Of course, this is heresy to those very subtle chauvinists who are always warning us against chauvinism. Actually (and I cannot know whether you are aware of this), a correct Marxist position on the National Question as it relates to Negroes in the U.S. has for the longest time been perverted by the CPUSA leadership. A Marxist who understands the National Question cannot help but think that the mechanical position of the CPUSA leadership throughout its history has harmed both itself and the Negro people.

Because there are at the moment so very few people who dare enter such a discussion in our rather Philistine-thin theoretical atmosphere, I would be indebted to you for the opportunity.

Sincerely,

Earl Price

[Price- Mars, Dr. Jean]

Dr. Jean PRICE-MARS
Ambassadeur
Chef de la Délégation d'Haiti à l'ONU
32 Broadway
New York 4, N. Y.

42-1A-60

8 Décembre 1955.

Dr. B.W. DUBOIS
New York City.

Cher Dr. Dubois,

Quelques uns de mes amis et anciens élèves ont lancé dans la Presse Haitienne l'idée de fêter le quatrevingtième anniversaire de ma naissance le 15 Octobre 1956, en me dédiant un livre d'hommages, entr'autres manifestations.

Afin de réaliser leurs desseins, ils sollicitent l'adhésion de tous ceux qui m'honorent de leur estime et de leurs sympathies et les invitent à collaborer à cette oeuvre de confraternité intellectuelle.

J'ai pensé qu'une page de vous aurait un prix inestimable à nos yeux, si vous pouviez vous distraire de vos travaux habituels pour faire bon accueil à notre démarche.

J'en nourris l'espoir et m'en sens déjà enorgueilli.

Permettez que je vous en remercie et qu'au nom de mes amis comme en mon nom personnel, je vous prie d'agréer le nouveau témoignage de notre fidèle et fervente admiration.

Dr Price-Mars

Dr. Jean PRICE-MARS
Ambassadeur

Provisional Workers and People's Committee for May Day 1955

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS
NEW YORK 11, N. Y.
ROOM 301 • OR. 5-7460

April 21, 1955

Dear Dr. DuBois:

As you probably know, the protests of labor have won for it the right to celebrate the 70th Anniversary of May Day at Union Square Park on Friday, April 29th, from 3 - 8 P.M.

Many prominent speakers from all walks of life are being invited to deliver five-minute addresses to our giant May Day Rally for Peace, Jobs, and Civil Liberties.

Our Committee respectfully invites you to speak and greet the tens of thousands of workers who will be at Union Square demonstrating on labor's great and cherished holiday.

Kindly inform us immediately whether or not you can accept this invitation.

Respectfully yours,

Leo Linzer
Leo Linzer, Chairman

Charles J Hendley
Charles J. Hendley, Secretary-Treasurer

27-15-3

F.T.U.L.1283.C.I.O.

April 22, 1955

Mr. Charles J. Hendley, Secretary
Provisional Workers and Peoples
Committee for May Day 1955
575 Avenue of the Americas
New York 11, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

I greet the workers of New York and the worldwide movement which is designed to put the working class in control of government and culture.

I would be glad to greet you in person but at my age it is inadvisable to attempt to talk out of doors.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-15-4

February 16, 1955

Mrs. H. Ragosin
305 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mrs. Ragosin ;

You remember, of course, Dr. Armattoe and you probably know that he died suddenly in Africa.

Yesterday I received a letter from Mrs. Armattoe, a copy of which I enclose. I did not receive a letter sent May 1954 to which she refers, but much of my mail from abroad goes astray these days.

27-16-15

I do not suppose that there is anything that you can do but I thought that you would like to hear from the Armattoe family. She seemed such a nice woman.

With best regards,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
enc.

February 15, 1955

Dr. L. D. Reddick, Librarian
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Reddick:

Thank you very much for the sympathetic review of my "Souls of Black Folk" which was published in PHYLON.

I would be glad to send you a copy of another book, "Suppression of the Slave Trade", which the Social Science Press has just republished.

If you do not have a copy I will mail it immediately.

Also, I hope that when you go to Fisk you will do anything you can in the case of Lee Lorch. I suppose it may be hard to do anything, but he and his wife are such fine people, and the case against them was utterly unjust, so that I do hope that friends will rally to his cause.

The situation at Fisk does not altogether please me.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-11-14

ANTON REFREGIER

WOODSTOCK, NEW YORK PHONE 2178

May 20, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I regret the delay in acknowledging your letter.

I will be most happy to have my name submitted for consideration by The World Peace Council.

Sincerely yours,

Anton Refregier

ANTON REFREGIER

27-14-38

May 19, 1955

Mr. Holland Roberts
California Labor School
321 Divisadero St.
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. Roberts:

The American members of the World Peace Council are suggesting to the Council, which meets at Helsinki, Finland, June 22-29, 1955, the names of Americans interested in Peace who would be willing to accept membership on the Council if elected.

Such membership involves no especial duties but indicates that the person so elected is interested in world peace and active in its furtherance.

I would be very glad if you would indicate to me at your earliest convenience your attitude toward this nomination.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-12-18

education for
democracy
and peace

california labor school, inc.

321 DIVISADERO ST • SAN FRANCISCO 17, CALIFORNIA • UNderhill 3-3023-3024

FOUNDED 1942
Director
HOLLAND ROBERTS

May 21, 1955

Dear Dr. Du Bois

It would be a very great honor to be nominated for membership in the World Peace Council, and I would be most happy to accept if elected.

All good wishes

Holland Roberts

Holland Roberts
Director

27-12-17

Do not copy

california labor school

321 divisadero st.
San Francisco 17, California
UNderhill 3-3023

HOLLAND ROBERTS, Director

September 16, 1955

Dr. W.E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois

As you probably note in the Bulletins of the World Council, we are sending in information from the West Coast about the peace activities going on here. In addition to transmitting information, I have responded to numerous requests by Jean Laffitte and those associated with him in the work of the Bureau.

We are, of course, initiating new plans to press forward with the peace work here.

I would appreciate any advice you can give me from your experience and viewpoint which would help me carry the responsibilities of membership in the World Council.

I hope your own writing and the work toward republication of your books is going forward. Are any works of yours to appear soon? We value them greatly.

All good wishes

Holland Roberts

Holland Roberts
Director

27-12-15

learn from the people - teach the people

~~do not copy~~

DEFENSE
SUSTAINER
DRIVE

california labor school
321 Divisadero • San Francisco 17 • UNderhill 3-3023

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HOLLAND ROBERTS
DIRECTOR

October 20, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
22 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois

I am writing you in connection with the election at Helsinki of fifteen representatives from the United States to the World Peace Council. Since word reached the school that we are among those who are to carry the work for the coming period I have thought a great deal about what needs to be done. How can the resources of the world peace movement be brought to the attention of the people of the United States and make its services function more effectively in the interests of all? What are our responsibilities? How can we meet them?

27-12-16

I would appreciate your thinking on these questions and in turn I would be happy to pass on suggestions for your consideration. Among my first proposals two points stand out which need attention: you will notice that there is only one representative west of Iowa and that Shirley Graham is the only woman elected from the United States. Clearly we will need to draw in others to help us in these particulars.

There is also the question of labor participation. Undoubtedly each of us will have suggestions to make. I know there is much interest in the peace movement among trade unionists here. In addition it will be necessary to get the help of the youth.

I am enclosing a program of our recent Northern California Peace Conference. It was a marked success and the one hundred twenty-five participants from leading groups will work out smaller conferences stimulated by their experiences in their respective communities and organizations.

Will you write me so that I may know your thinking about the direction our work should take?

All good wishes,

Holland Roberts

HR:cc
enc

there is growing interest here
in the world Council

COPY

November 29, 1955

Mr. Holland Roberts
California Labor School
321 Divisadero
San Francisco 17, Calif.

Dear Mr. Roberts:

I have hesitated to answer your letters of September 16 and October 20 since the proposal which I have long considered has perhaps some elements of risk, although I think not much.

You remember that in the case of the Peace Information Bureau, we were asked to register as foreign agents. My objection to such registry was that we would be lying. We were not agents of any organization nor government. Others also objected because such registration involved revealing the names of our members and contributors, so we went to court and won.

But that left us with no peace organization. The Peace Crusade was formed to fill the breach. But Abbott Simon, a fine man with the best intentions, proved not fitted for leading, and his co-director, Richardson, was quite impossible. The Crusade has gone out of business. As a result, this nation is the only civilized nation without a real organized peace movement in cooperation with the greatest peace movement of our day, the World Peace Council.

This is intolerable and I have been writhing under this fact. For this reason I and one other undertood to correspond with the secretary of the Council in order that American representation on its board might be assured and be of the right quality. I then suggested to several of the members that we organize openly as a branch of the World Beace Council, under such terms as the Council suggested; and then that we write the Department of Justice. We would tell it just what we had done and who had done it. We would insist that our action was not such as came under the Foreign Registration Law; but that if the Department decided that it did, we would register and make reports; at the same time reserving the right eventually to test the matter in court. Also, we might say that as registered foreign agents we would certainly expect the right to send representatives to the meetings of the World Peace Council.

Write me of your reaction to this proposal.

Yours sincerely,

W. E. B. DuBois

DEFENSE
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california labor school
321 Divisadero • San Francisco 17 • UNderhill 3-3023

100

FOUNDED 1942
HOLLAND ROBERTS
DIRECTOR

December 8, 1955

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 1, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

27-12-13

I have received a number of replies to the letters I sent to the other fourteen members of the World Council. Several suggestions have been made but yours is the only one with a definite general proposal.

It has the very clear advantage of pressuring the Department of Justice into taking a position on world peace.

My own thinking has been in the direction of stimulating the organization of a broad national peace movement here in the United States, in which the left would be represented and which would be developed with the purpose of linking up with the World Council. Several interviews I have had recently with leading church men in this area encourage me to think this might be done if a number of us were to work on it in different parts of the United States.

This proposal could of course be undertaken along with yours if we could interest enough people.

My plans now are to spend several days to a week in New York immediately after Christmas. There would be a very great advantage in thinking through the various proposals together. Is there a possibility that you might bring several of us who would be in the city together for some informal discussion on the 29th, 30th or 31st of December? We could pool our thinking and perhaps work out a plan together.

All good wishes,

Holland Roberts

HOLLAND ROBERTS

Enclosure

[Robeson]

May 24, 1955

SPECIAL DELIVERY TO: PAUL ROBESON, HOWARD FAST, JOHN DARR

Please come to my office any time this week between noon and 3 o'clock to sign documents.

27-14-47

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION
49 WEST 49th STREET, NEW YORK 20

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

February 4, 1955

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your letter of February 1 regarding General Douglas MacArthur's address at Los Angeles. This has also been brought to the attention of the other officers of the Foundation.

Your suggestion that the speech be translated into many languages and widely distributed is an interesting one. I am afraid, however, that I must report that such an undertaking could not appropriately be considered under the present program of The Rockefeller Foundation. Our work does not include general educational activities but is concerned chiefly with the advancement of knowledge through the support of advanced research in selected areas.

Sincerely yours,

Flora M. Rhind
Secretary

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

27-10-88

Annette T. Rubinstein
59 West 71st Street
New York 23, New York

Schuyler 4-3233

May 15, 1955

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I believe you know that Lionel Berman and I are editing a selection of Marcantonio's speeches and writings from the material in The Congressional Record. This will, we hope, be ready for publication by the Vito Marcantonio Memorial in a month or so, and should appear soon after the first anniversary of his death.

We plan to conclude the book with an appendix presenting excerpts from his summation in the four major legal cases he defended during his last four years, and have already secured the relevant court records for William Patterson's, Ben Gold's and the SACB case.

Unfortunately Gloria Agren finds that her file copy of your trial proceedings is lost, and tells me that the only other one of which she knows is in the files of the government attorney.

Knowing your gift for suddenly producing given-up-for-lost documents at strategic moments we wondered whether you had all or any part of that record (beyond what is quoted in In Battle for Peace) in your possession. If so, could we borrow it for just two or three days to have parts of it copied? If not, do you perhaps have any fuller notes on Marc's courtroom speeches than those you have used in the book?

You will, of course, already have made sarcastic note of the fact that we assume we can get your permission to use what is in the book - and we do! But while it's very good, what there is of it, we would like to present Marc's appearance at your trial more fully if possible.

Thank you very much for your consideration of this. We really wouldn't have bothered you if there were any other hope of getting the material that we could think of, but Gloria was very positive.

Please give my warmest regards to Shirley.

Sincerely,

Annette

27-16-12

May 18, 1955

Miss Annette Rubinstein
59 West 71 St.
New York 23, N.Y.

Dear Miss Rubinstein:

I am glad to know that you are collecting Marcantonio's speeches, but I do not have a copy of my trial proceedings.

The copy that I used belonged to Gloria Agrin and was carefully and promptly returned.

I am so sorry that I cannot help you.

Shirley joins in best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-16-13

Annette T. Rubinstein
59 West 71st Street
New York 23, New York

Schuyler 4-3233

June 8, 1955

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Since there seems to be no full copy of your trial proceedings available to us, and since Gloria tells us that Marc's motion to dismiss was argued in a highly technical way, not at all comparable to his summations for the jury in the other three trials we are including in the book, we would very much like to use excerpts from your description in the book In Battle for Peace.

42-1A-2

I have copied the material we think best suited to our needs, and have included the brief note we we would place as an ~~brief~~ introductory annotation.

We should very much appreciate your permission to quote you in this way and, needless to say, should of course be very happy to include any annotations, explanations or alterations you may wish to make.

We should also be glad make any changes you may think advisable in the introductory note.

I have indicated in pencil the page from which each paragraph was taken to facilitate your consideration of the material.

Miriam Marcantonio asked me to give you her very warm regards and to tell you how happy she will be if you can be so included in Marc's book.

Thank you for your consideration of this request.

Sincerely,

Annette

41-19E-24

[1955?]

ROSES AND WASPS
DETAIL OF A CHINESE HAND SCROLL
ATTRIBUTED TO CHAO CH'ANG
ABOUT 1000 A.D.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

With incredulous admiration and warmest good wishes to Dr. DuBois who has, miraculously, won all that "which should accompany old age, as honor, love, obedience, troops of friends" without losing any of the zest, verve and unpredictability of less reverend youth.

As the double-edged old Hebrew blessing goes, "May you live to be a hundred and twenty,-and I be here to see it!"

Sincerely, Annette T. Rubinstein

Rudwick
Phd thesis on DuBois

[Rudwick]

Elizabethtown College
Elizabethtown, Pa.
Department of Sociology

27-17A-48

Feb. 25, 1955

Mrs. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mrs. DuBois:

I am the young man who is writing a doctoral dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania on the "Leadership Role of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois." I visited you at your home last spring, and at that time, you graciously offered to submit a few of my questions to Dr. DuBois for comment. I have waited all of this time, so that I could go over all the material which I have collected, and choose only 3 questions. Would you be so kind to get Dr. DuBois's comments on these questions. As I indicated to you last spring, I should appreciate your help so much. I expect the dissertation to be completed late this summer, and I should be happy to send you a copy for your examination and comment. The questions are the following.

1) In the summer of 1915, Dr. DuBois printed the following notice in the Crisis: "An unfortunate occurrence is the attempt of a part of the stockholders of the Dixie Industrial Company to oust William E. Benson, founder and president. This company was founded sixteen years ago. It is worth about $400,000 and has been a notable undertaking. Mr. Benson charges that a 'Negro Education Trust' has been opposing him. A white man has been nominated to succeed him."

This announcement made Oswald Garrison Villard angry when he read it. At that time, Villard was on the Board of Directors of Kowaliga, Benson's industrial corporation. It is not clear to me what Dr. DuBois meant by the 'Negro Education Trust!. Did he mean the group of whites on the Kowaliga Board? If he did, that might account for Villard's reaction. Or did he mean the General Education Board? I do not understand why Villard took the announcement so personally, if the "Trust" had nothing directly to do with him.

2) In a letter from Dr. DuBois to James Weldon Johnson (found in the Johnson Collection at Yale University Library), dated November 1, 1916, Dr. DuBois wrote the following:

"I think you ought to consider very favorably the proposal of Spingarn that you be a candidate for organizer.....Then too, you will remember the secret organization that you and I talked of sometime ago. There is no telling what your wide acquaintance as organizer, etc., might not lead to. We might be able to tie a durable knot to insure the permanency of the main organization..."

Would Dr. DuBois please tell me something about the plan of this "secret organization." Was it composed of Negroes only, or members of both racial groups? And who were some of its members? Were they located only in New York City? Was it formed because of the difficulty Dr. DuBois was having at that time with Villard, who objected to Dr. DuBois's control over the Crisis? Was it to be a successor to the NAACP, if Villard ever had his way? I had understood that Mr. Johnson in the years before 1916 was friendly to Booker

Washington. If that is so, did Dr. DuBois have any reason to believe that what was discussed in this "secret organization" would not go back to the Tuskegeean? Would you please tell me approximately when the "secret organization" idea was first discussed, and how far the idea got.

3) In November 1915, Dr. DuBois published an editorial in the *Crisis* which was entitled "We come of Age," and another one on the same page called "The Crisis and the NAACP". Toward the end of the latter one, Dr. DuBois wrote:

"...From the beginning the editor of the Crisis has made himself personally responsible for every single debt which has been incurred. He has used his own salary and borrowed money to tide it over difficulties and given his personal notes to meet emergencies. In not a single case has the Association or anybody connected with the Association, except the editor, assumed the slightest responsibility or risk or advanced a single cent. There is both precedent and moral right that legal ownership in whole or in part should rightly follow such financial risk. But not only has the editor refused to press this point in the slightest degree *but he has even in one case yielded to an invasion of his rights which he did not and does not consider fair.*"(italics mine)

Would it be possible for Dr. DuBois to tell me whether this"one case" had to do with Villard's attempt to control the editorial policy of the *Crisis*? Could he possibly recall the circumstances of this "one case?"

I wish to thank you very much for your kindness in helping me get the answers to these important questions.

27-17A-49

Sincerely,

Elliott M. Rudwick
Dept. Sociology

March 24, 1955

MEMORANDUM ON ELLIOTT M. RUDWICK'S THESIS

1) William Benson tried to found in central Alabama an industrial enterprise with certain philanthropical aspects. These latter included a school. The industries were to be developed on his father's land and included lumbering, cotton raising and other enterprises. From the first in his appeal for funds he met the opposition of Tuskegee interests, who regarded Kowaliga as an attempt to rival Tuskegee. This led to a good many charges and bad feeling.

Of Benson's honesty of purpose there could be no question. As to the soundness of his business enterprises I do not know. However, I strongly supported him because I knew him and liked him and some of the things which I wrote offended Mr. Villard. Remember that Oswald Garrison Villard was a fine man with high purposes, but spoiled by inherited wealth and power. He could not endure criticism, especially from Negroes, whose interests he had tried to forward, and whose champion he was by inheritance. My outspoken criticism from time to time especially annoyed him.

27-17A-50

What I meant by Negro Education Trust was that organization of Tuskegee interests which tried to confine all philanthropy to Tuskegee or to enterprises which Tuskegee favored. You will find an outline of this Tuskegee machine in my DUSK OF DAWN.

2) In 1916 James Weldson Johnson had been denied by the United States government his rightful promotion in the consular service which he had won by service in South America. He therefore resigned and was offered the position of Field Secretary for the NAACP. It was not the kind of work to which he ad been trained. He was a poet, a literary man, and hardly suited for propaganda. Nevertheless at the advice of friends, including myself, he became Field Secretary. I do not now remember what particular form of secret organization I had in mind when I wrote to him, but what we were trying to do was to build a fine organization to defend Negro rights, and we had in opposition the white South, most of the rich Northern philanthropists, and most of the leading colored people. We did not know just what kind of an organization we would be able to work out. We did finally make the NAACP the sort of organization which we wanted. I do not remember any other efforts.

3) The relations of the CRISIS and the NAACP were difficult from the beginning. Most of the persons in the NAACP did not believe that the organ was necessary or that we should form it. When it was started it was started with a limited promise that the organization would meet a small deficit not to exceed $50 a

March 24, 1955

month. But it never was called upon to do this. From the beginning the CRISIS was financially independent.* That gave me as editor a certain independence of thought which aroused criticism. The annual income of the CRISIS soon reached $75,000 a year, while the income of the mother organization was not more than $45,000 or $50,000. This led to the idea that the CRISIS might help support the organization, which I opposed because I was sure it was not necessary. On the other hand it did lead to some interference with CRISIS funds, but that interference though annoying, for a long time was not serious, and the CRISIS was able to spend its own income. The one case alluded to I do not remember specifically.

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

*Except that it did not pay the editor's salary. It took over that in 1915

To
Mr. Elliott M. Rudwick
Dept. of Sociology
Elizabethtown College
Elizabethtown, Pa.

27-171-5

[RUDWICK ?]
[INCOMPLETE]

Villard

38-6-45

From the start Mr. Villard and I were in disagreement. He was a rich philanthropist whose colored friends approached him with deference; he was a newspaper man and expected to advise and in part control the "Crisis". He was a friend of Booker T. Washington and was determined that the NAACP should not attack Washington. Mr. Villard was a well meaning man and did excellent work, but his account of the meeting of January 3, 1916 is exaggerated. [illegible] Spingarn never accused me of any "ungentlemanly treatment" towards him.

I was an outspoken radical. I counted myself the equal of Villard in training and ability and refused to let him dictate my work or ideas. I made no personal attack on Washington but firmly opposed his policies. I was brought into the NAACP against Villard's judgment and the terms of my relation to the organization were never made clear. Most members of the Board expected me to become Secretary. This, Villard opposed, and so did I, as I had no intention to spend my time raising money. Villard was supposed to raise large funds from his rich friends.

Villard became chairman of the Board and Chief Executive. He remained through 1913, when he resigned, for many reasons but doubtless in part because of disagreement with me and my ideas. He was induced to remain as Treasurer. His successor, Joel Spingarn, was mucy closer to me in thought and policy, but soon after his joining us and becoming Chairman, the necessity of a general reorganization of the NAACP was evident. The efficient secretary, Miss Nerny, was no expert on race problems and the extraordinary growth of the "Crisis", overshadowed her work. She resigned January 3, 1916. At the same time both Villard resigned as Treasurer, and Spingarn, as a gesture of courtesy, offered his resignation as Chairman. Both Villard and Spingarn were induced to withdrew their resignations and we set to work to compose differences, to settle my exact status in the organization and to raise money which was the main problem for the NAACP, while the "Crisis" became wholly self-supporting.

In time Spingarn and I managed to work in comeplete harmony. Villard and I worked bogether, but it was an armed truce.

(Signed)

W.E.B. Du Bois

July 12, 1955

S. SCHUSSHEIM, M. D., F. A. C. S.
441 OCEAN AVENUE
BROOKLYN 26, N. Y.

BUCKMINSTER 2-6540

42/1A/16

April 27, 1955

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You are familiar, I am sure, with the new Albert Einstein College of Medicine of Yeshiva University which will admit its first class in September of this year.

I know you understand what a new medical school will mean to all of us here in the City of New York. Adjoining the College, the City is now completing its new 1,400-bed Bronx Municipal Hospital Center which is affiliated with the College and will serve as its clinical teaching center. As you know, this will be one of the largest and most comprehensive medical centers in the country.

I have accepted the Chairmanship of a Dinner which will be given by the medical community of Brooklyn celebrating the birth of the new medical center. It is most appropriate, you will agree, that the Physicians be the first group in our Borough to extend an official welcome to this new Medical School.

The Dinner will be held Wednesday evening, June 15, 1955 at the Towers Hotel. It will be a $50 per plate dinner and there will be no fund raising at the Dinner.

I would like very much for you to serve on the Dinner Committee. I believe the importance of the dinner warrants your taking a leading role and your association with the affair will go a long way towards guaranteeing its success.

May I hear from you indicating that you will accept.

Kind regards.

Sincerely,

Solomon Schussheim. M.D.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[1955?]

41-19C-16

Dear Mr. Seeman:

During the last ten years, I have not given very close attention to the developments in Negro education. Of course, as you say, the gifts to Nehro colleges from the great foundations naturally lead to care in their methods of education and ~~x~~ in their references to the present situation in the world.

I used to follow rather carefully the work of the Southern Educational Foundation but I have not seen their reports now for several years, and therefore cannot be of much help to you. The whole influence of Big Business on American education is a matter of grave concern.

Brooklyn 33New York
2086 Dean Street
Apt-I-D

Dr, E.B.Dubois
I39 W. I25th St.,
New York 27,NY.

27-12-38

Dear Sir; I have a great probleum and need your advice very bad ; and hope that you will help me your advice will be priceless.

On January IO, I954 a man that I owed money to for things had bought on time payment. Came to my house to collect I was layed off my job, and it was hard to find another because of my condition I was four mounth pregnant, and was trying to get on welfare but it took a lot od doing. Which I told him this man by name Haskell-Benjimin . He ask to see my payment book I showed it to him and he stated that he was going totake it and give me a recipt for the amount I had payed I refuse to let him for that is the only thing or proof I had that I had payed and when I payed; He started to swear, and grabed me to take the book by force, I started to protect myself for he was beating me the furniture was falling bed broken then he pulled out his gun and put it in my face.

The neighbors came running they told him to give me my book he gave it to me the police was called they came and told me to go bed for I was looseing blood. And they would send the Dectives to seeme they never came I had a doctor and later went into the hospital where I stayde for about 34, days, when I was discharged I had live with friends I had been evicted. This man Benjiman Haskell, came to 305 McDonough St. and did the same thing all over again threating to shoot the lock from my room door.

I had to move again and this man went to these people and tryed to make them tell where I had moved to they informed me that he was look for me. I then sent a letter to the Commissoner of police he sent the dectives to see me at 2086 Dean Street Brooklyn , I was asked to come down to 88, precint. To meet the District Att, I went and the Dective there called the D.A. on the phone and completly Twisted My story. He said that this man came to my house and when he asked for his money I started for him with a knife.

[ENC]

And he pulled out his gun to scare me. When the D.A. got there he called me in and would not listen to the whole story and told That he should throw me in jail and he did not want to see my witnesses. Nor did he want to talk to the Doctor that treated me the police never turned in the call to the station, and if I got out a warrent for this mans, arrest he him self would personally send the police for me. That there was nobody higher than he is for he was judge and jury and could throw me in jail any time.

I have a knot the size of an egg in my lower abdomen from this
I want tono if I have a case or not?
should I go on and try to sue this man?
Could the D.A. have me arrested for haveing Benjiman Haskell arrested

all of this man's customers are Negro, Spanish, and he has this get tough policy.

what do you think I should ; and could do about
there are some things I cant write in the letter such as the name of the D.A. and witnesses unless you want them.

Please help me or tell me what todo

Hopefully yours

Louise Shaw

27-12-39

March 22, 1955

Mrs. Louise Shaw
2086 Dean Street, Apt. 1-D
Brooklyn 33, New York

Dear Mrs. Shaw:

I have been out of town several weeks and have just seen your letter.

I think you should bring this case before the Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. The executive director is: Mr. Patrick Murphy Malin.

You can tell him that I advised you that this was a case which seemed to me this organization should handle.

I have great sympathy for you and hope that something will come out of it for you.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-12-40

[FADED]

[Simon]

505 West End Ave
JAN. 14, 1955

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We finally licked the last stamp of 26,500 and our mail is now in the post-office - timed to get to people with this weeks Guardian. Mr. McManus has written a very fine editorial about Marc which we hope will help bring a good response.

Enclosed is one of the letters - we hope you like the way it looks. All of us appreciate the time and effort you gave to the letter. Now we must wait for the returns.

Priscilla joins in sending our best wishes to you and Shirley. We hope to see you soon.

Cordially,
Abbott

27-11-1

Feb 20. 1955
Westmont, Ill

Dear Dr. DuBois.

I extend to you my warmest and loving congratulations on your 87th birthday. I will repeat it again in the Český language my ancestors are.

Srdečný Blaho přaní vašem narozeninám.

I noticed that the Guardian said that the response to the Marcantonio memorial fund, has been sparse - I sent something (5.00), if you havent received that, could it be possible that the Police State are stopping this mail. I sent this at least 2wks ago.

Yours truly

Anton Slezak

206. No. WARWICK AVE
WESTMONT, ILLINOIS

$1.00 enclosed for the memorial Fund above.

27-12-41

February 23, 1955

Mr. Anton Slesak
206 No. Warwick Avenue
Westmont, Illinois

Dear Mr. Slesak:

Thank you for the contribution to the Marcantonio Memorial Fund which I received today, and for the birthday wishes.

27-12-42

I have sent your contribution on to the Vito Marcantonio Memorial Committee, at 1484 First Avenue, New York 21, New York.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[Smith, Jessica]

Warmest Greetings from your neighbors of the New World! —

Jessica Smith
Maurine Austin
Margaret FitzPatrick
Andrew Voynow
M. Oreik
Ida Prince
Clifford Jay -

With best wishes
for
many happy returns
of the day

15B15
BUTLER-THOMAS
PHILA.

41-19E-2

[1955?]

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

SOCIAL SCIENCE press
ROOM 606 51 EAST 42ND STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y. MUrray Hill 2-5089

May 20, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, NY

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Apropos of our agreement as to a division of the profits from the 1954 edition of THE SUPPRESSION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, I am sorry to inform you that the book is losing heavily, and that a profitable return now seems out of the question. Our concern is now to recoup our losses, and no profit can be expected.

Very truly yours,

Eugene D. Genovese
Eugene D. Genovese

27-17-21

May 31, 1955

Mr. Eugene D. Genovese
Social Science Press
51 East 42 Street
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Genovese:

I am not at all surprised that the re-publication of my book, SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE was not profitable. I did not think it would be, and was very grateful to have it republished under any circumstances. I only hope that your loss will not be too great.

Some time ago you wrote me for some criticism on your thesis. I hope you received my reply.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-17-22

[Sohyo]

May 31, 1955

Mr. Minoru Takano, General Secretary
SOHYO NEWS
Sodomei Kaikan,
Mita, Shiba
Tokyo, Japan

Dear Sir:

I am very glad to receive copies of SOHYO NEWS but may I ask you hereafter to address it to my home:

31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2,
New York

I no longer live at 409 Edgecombe Avenue.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

W.E.B Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, NY

17 April, 1955

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Permit me to add my few words of appreciation for the articles that have been appearing in The National Guardian. They help give us all a sense of the true dimensions of our world. Let me add, also, that on the eve of the Asian-African conference, I have been thinking of how gratified and proud you, of all men, must feel. Here is the realization of the solidarity of the colonial peoples for which you fought so long and well. It must be an immense satisfaction for you to see this acknowledgement and embodiment of great dreams. Just ten years ago, I recall you (in the company of Walter White) on that special State Department train en route to San Francisco. What you hoped to bring about then is, in a sense, now being taken up by powerful states and able men in Bandoeng. Salud....and my best to Mrs. Du Bois.

Cordially,

Joseph Starobin

51 Charles Street
New York City 14

27-12-34

April 21, 1955

Mr. Joseph Starobin
51 Charles Street
New York City 14, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Starobin:

I appreciate your kind letter of April 17, and thank you for sending it.

Our best regards to you and Mrs. Starobin.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-12-35

Autograph
+ put date
Feb. 13, 1955

Insure package

[Steinberg]

Sylvia Soloff

and

Sam Steinberg

invite you to attend their

wedding reception

Sunday, the thirteenth of February

nineteen hundred and fifty-five

from six until ten o'clock

451 West 47th Street

New York City

763

41-19E-6

CONGRATULATIONS
by WESTERN UNION

NBA150 CGN PD= NEW YORK NY 23 128P=

DOCTOR W E B DUBOIS=

31 GRACE COURT=

1945 FEB 23 PM 1 46

BEST WISHES AND LOVE FROM BOTH OF US=

:SYLVIA AND SAM=

735

41-19E-17

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

by WESTERN UNION

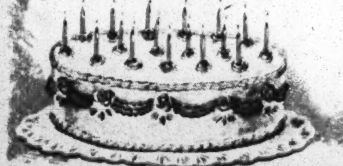
1955 FEB 23 PM 9 56

.NBA340 BDA PD=WILMINGTON DEL 23 918PME=

=DR W E B DUBOIS=
:31 GRACE CT=

=A DINNER PARTY OF YOUR WILMINGTON FRIENDS SENDS HEARTIEST BIRTHDAY GREETINGS AND HOPES THAT YOUR FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY WILL CONTINUE FOR MANY YEARS TO COME STOP YTU HAVE OUR DEEPEST GRATITUDE FOR SHOWING US THE WAY TOWARD A PEACEFUL WORLD:

=DONALD STEPHENS=



Happy Birthday

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STUART HALL

Staunton, Va.

Stuart Hall was founded in 1843, and is one of the oldest boarding schools for girls in the south. It was also a pioneer in the south in the preparation of girls for college, and it has kept pace with modern educational progress. Its students come from all parts of the United States and from foreign countries.

PUB. BY VALLEY NEWS AGENCY, STAUNTON, VA.

Please accept my
belated greetings
and good wishes
for your 87th
birthday.

T. Y. Steptoe.
Western State Hospital
Staunton, Va.

2/26/55.

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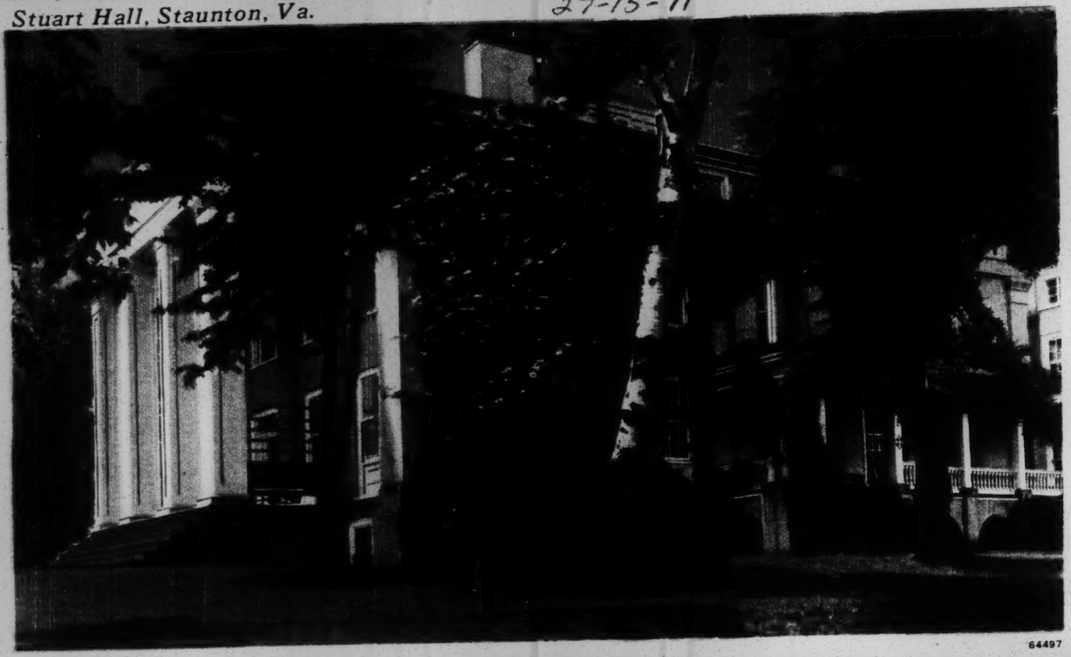
23 W. 26th St.,
New York 10,
N. Y.

Stuart Hall, Staunton, Va.

27-15-11



64497

March 23, 1955

Mr. T. Y. Steptoe
Western State Hospital
Staunton, Va.

Dear Mr. Steptoe:

I appreciate your kind birthday greeting.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-15-10

April 18, 1955

Mrs. Martha Stern
Paseo De La Reforma 104
Mexico 6, D.F.

My dear Martha,

I have just finished your book. It came while we were in Haiti, and then after I returned of course I had to wade through a pile of mail before I got to it. Then I read it at my leisure, taking it up to Croton-on-the-Hudson where we spent the weekend, and finishing it there.

I enjoyed it very much. I think it is a very careful and thoughtful analysis of family and community relations in the midst of a great spiritual and financial crisis. And you have made your characters live so that I seem to know them personally and understand how they reacted, when the world dissolved about them and changed all their normal relationships. May I thank you for a fine piece of work and I hope you will do more.

The weather here is awful and I have just been through a bout with the physicians at Shirley's insistence. She became convinced that I wasn't eating enough and the doctor naturally became suspicious of cancer, so I was xrayed head to toe, backwards and sideways, with negative results except that I caught cold in the process of getting from Brooklyn to 76th Street and back.

However, all is well now and will be better if the temperature ever creeps above 50°.

Shirley and I greet you and Alfred with deep affection and hope you keep well and happy. Shirley says to tell Alfred "I wrote his friend in Glencoe, Mr. Jack Turner, regarding the Glencoe property. I wrote two months ago before going to Haiti and have not heard from him."

Yours with love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-18-6

[Stone]

Prof. Alexander Meiklejohn's Historic Defense of the First Amendment

"Loyalty Does Not Imply Conformity of Opinion"

> *The Weekly is proud to make available here in full text the classic defense of the First Amendment with which the venerable 83-year-old Prof. Alexander Meiklejohn, dean of American philosophers, and most uncompromising of American libertarians, opened the historic hearings begun last Monday by the Hennings subcommittee of the Senate on constitutional liberties.*

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

I deeply appreciate your courtesy in asking me to join with you in an attempt to define the meaning of the words, "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." Whatever those words may mean, they go directly to the heart of our American Plan of Government. If we can understand them we can know what, as a self-governing nation, we are trying to be and to do. Insofar as we do not understand them, we are in grave danger of blocking our own purposes, of denying our own beliefs.

It may clarify my own part in our conference if I tell you at once my opinion concerning this much-debated subject. The First Amendment seems to me to be a very uncompromising statement. It admits of no exceptions. It tells us that the Congress and by implication, all other agencies of the Government are denied any authority whatever to limit the Political Freedom of the citizens of the United States. It declares that with respect to political belief, political discussion, political advocacy, political planning, our citizens are sovereign, and the Congress is their subordinate agent. That agent is authorized, under strong safeguards against the abuse of its power, to limit the freedom of men as they go about the management of their private, their non-political affairs. But the same men, as they endeavor to meet the public resposibilities of citizenship in a free society, are in a vital sense, which is not easy to define, beyond the reach of legislative control. Our common task, as we talk together today, is to determine what that sense is.

Mr. Chairman, in view of your courtesy to me, I hope you will not find me discourteous when I suggest that the Congress is a subordinate branch of the Government of the United States. In saying this I am simply repeating in less passionate words what was said by the writers of the Federalist papers when, a century and three-quarters ago, they explained the meaning of the proposed Constitution to a body politic which seemed very reluctant to adopt it. Over and over again the writers of those papers declared that the Constitutional Convention had given to the People adequate protection against a much-feared tyranny of the Legislature. In one of the most brilliant statements ever written about the Constitution, the Federalist says:

> *"It is one thing to be subject to the laws, and another to be dependent on the legislative body. The first comports with, the last violates, the fundamental principles of good government, and, whatever may be the forms of the Constitution, unites all power in the same hands." (No. 71).*

They Feared Congress

It is chiefly the legislature, the Federalist insists, which threatens to usurp the governing powers of the People. In words which unfortunately have some relevance today, it declares that "it is against the enterprising ambition of this department that the people ought to indulge their jealousy and exhaust all their precautions." And, further, the hesitant people were assured that the Convention, having recognized this danger, had devised adequate protections against it. The Representatives, it was provided, would be elected by vote of the People. Elections would be for terms brief enough to ensure active and continuous popular control. The legislature would have no law-making authority other than those limited powers specifically delegated to it. A general legislative power to act for the security and welfare of the nation was denied on the ground that it would destroy the basic postulate of popular Self-Government on which the Constitution rests.

As the Federalist thus describes, with insight and accuracy, the Constitutional defenses of the Freedom of the People against legislative invasion, it is not speaking of that freedom as an "Individual Right" which is bestowed upon the citizens by action of the Legislature. Nor is the principle of the Freedom of Speech derived from a Law of Nature or of Reason in the abstract. As it stands in the Constitution, it is an expression of the basic American political agreement that, in the last resort, the People of the United States shall govern themselves. To find its meaning, therefore, we must dig down to the very foundations of the Self-Governing process. And what we shall there find is the fact that when men govern themselves, it is they—and no one else—who must pass judgment upon public policies. And that means that, in our popular discussions, unwise ideas must have a hearing as well as wise ones, dangerous ideas as well as safe, unAmerican as well as American. Just so far as, at any point, the citizens who are to decide issues are denied acquaintance with information or opinion or doubt or disbelief or criticism which is relevant to those issues, just so far the result must be ill-considered, ill-balanced planning for the general good. It is that mutilation of the thinking process of the community against which the First Amendment is directed. That provision neither the Legislature, nor the Executive, nor the Judiciary, nor all of them acting together, has authority to nullify. We Americans have, together, decided to be politically Free.

Mr. Chairman, I have now stated for your consideration the thesis that the First Amendment is not "open to exceptions" that our American "freedom of Speech" is not, on any grounds whatever, subject to abridgement by the Representatives of the People. May I next try to answer two arguments which are commonly brought against that thesis in the courts and in the wider circle of popular discussion?

Can Speech Threaten Freedom?

The first objection rests upon the supposition that freedom of speech may on occasion threaten the security of the nation. And when these two legitimate national interests are in conflict, the government, it is said, must strike a balance between them. And that means that the First Amendment must at times yield ground. The freedom of speech must be abridged in order that the national order and safety may be secured.

In the courts of the United States, many diverse opinions have asserted that "balancing" doctrine. One of these often quoted, reads as follows:

> *"To preserve its independence, and give security against foreign aggression and encroachment, is the highest duty of every nation, and to attain these ends nearly all other considerations are to be subordinated. It matters not in what form such aggression comes. . . . The government, possessing the powers which are to be exercised for protection and security is clothed with authority to determine the occasion on which the powers shall be brought forth."*

That opinion tells us that the "Government" of the United States has unlimited authority to provide for the security of the nation, as it may seem necessary and wise. It tells us, therefore that, constitutionally, the Government which has created the defenses of Political Freedom may break down those defenses. We, the People, who have enacted the First Amendment, may by agreed upon procedure modify or annul that amendment. And, since we are, as a government, a sovereign nation, I do not see how any of these assertions can

4/1/62

be doubted or denied. We Americans, as a body-politic, may destroy or limit our freedom whenever we choose. But what bearing has that statement upon the authority of Congress to interfere with the provisions of the First Amendment? Congress is not the Government. It is only one of four branches to each of which The People have denied specific and limited powers as well as delegated such powers. And in the case before us, the words, "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech," gives plain evidence that, so far as Congress is concerned, the power to limit our Political Freedom has been explicitly denied.

"Balancing" Security and Freedom

There is, I am sure a radical error in the theory that the task of "balancing" the conflicting claims of security and freedom has been delegated to Congress. It is the failure to recognize that the balancing in question was carefully done when, one hundred and seventy years ago, the Constitution was adopted and quickly amended. The men who wrote the text of that Constitution knew, quite as well as we do, that the program of Political Freedom is a dangerous one. They could foresee that, as the nation traveled the ways of Self-Government, the Freedom of Speech would often be used irresponsibly and unwisely, especially in times of war or near-war, and that such talking might have serious consequences for the national safety.

They knew, too, that a large section of the voting population was hostile to the forms of government which were then being adopted. And, further, they had every reason to expect that, in a changing world, new dissatisfactions would arise and might in times of stress break out into open and passionate disaffection. All these considerations, I am saying, were as clearly and as disturbingly present to their minds as they are to our minds today. And, because of them, the First Amendment might have been written, not as it is, but as the Courts of the United States have re-written it in the war-maddened years since 1919. The Amendment might have said, "Except in times and situations involving Clear and Present Danger to the national security, Congress shall make no law abridging the Freedom of Speech." Or it might have read, "Only when, in the judgment of the Legislature, the interests of order and security render such action advisable shall Congress abridge the Freedom of Speech." But the writers of the Amendment did not adopt either of these phrasings or anything like them. Perhaps a minor reason for their decision was the practical certainty that the Constitution, if presented in that form, would have failed of adoption. But more important than such questionable historical speculation are two reasons which are as valid today as they were when the Amendment was decreed.

First, our doctrine of Political Freedom is not a visionary abstraction. It is a belief which is based in long and bitter experience which is thought out by shrewd intelligence. It is the sober conviction that, in a society pledged to self-Government, it is never true that, in the long run, the security of the nation is endangered by the freedom of the people. Whatever may be the immediate gains and losses, the dangers to our safety arising from political suppression are always greater than the dangers to that safety arising from political freedom. Suppression is always foolish. Freedom is always wise. That is the faith, the experimental faith, by which we Americans have undertaken to live. If we, the citizens of today, cannot shake ourselves free from the hysteria which blinds us to that faith, there is little hope for peace and security, either at home or abroad.

Inquisition Outlawed

Second, the re-writing of the First Amendment which authorizes the Legislature to balance security against freedom denies, not merely some minor phase of the amendment, but its essential purpose and meaning. Whenever, in our Western civilization, "inquisitors" have sought to justify their acts of suppression, they have given plausibility to their claims only by appealing to the necessity of guarding the public safety. It is that appeal which the First Amendment intended, and intends, to outlaw. Speaking to the Legislature, it says, "When times of danger come upon the nation, you will be strongly tempted, and urged by popular pressures, to resort to practices of suppression such as those allowed by societies unlike our own in which men do not govern themselves. You are hereby forbidden to do so. This nation of ours intends to be free. 'Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech.' "

Men Do Not Like Dissent

"Human beings do not instinctively desire to live in a community where freedom of speech prevails. Instead, they long for a unified society. Even sophisticated men feel a strong exhiliration when they march in a procession which keeps perfect step with everybody singing in unison. Distaste is a common initial reaction to anybody who is very different from the general run. It is natural for us to feel hostility toward anybody who expresses unfamiliar opinions or views which we intensely dislike."

—Zechariah Chaffee, Jr., before the Hennings Inquiry

The second objection which must be met by one who asserts the unconditional Freedom of Speech rests upon the well-known fact that there are countless human situations in which, under the Constitution, this or that kind of speaking may be limited or forbidden by legislative action. Some of these cases have been listed by the courts in vague and varying ways. Thus libels, blasphemies, attacks upon public morals or private reputation have been held punishable. So, too, we are told that "counselling a murder" may be a criminal act, or "falsely shouting fire in a theatre, and causing a panic." "Offensive" or "provocative" speech has been denied legislative immunity. "Contempt of court," shown by the use of speech or by refusal to speak, may give basis for prosecution. Utterances which cause a riot or which "incite" to it may be subject to the same legal condemnation. And this listing of legitimate legislative abridgments of speech could be continued indefinitely. Their number is legion.

In view of these undoubted facts, the objection which we must now try to meet can be simply stated. In all these cases, it says, inasmuch as speaking is abridged, "exceptions" are made to the First Amendment. The Amendment is thus shown to be, in general, "open to exceptions." And from this it follows that there is no reason why a Legislature which has authority to guard the public safety should be debarred from making an "exception" when faced by the threat of national danger.

The Fallacy About "Exceptions"

Now the validity of that argument rests upon the assumed major premise that whenever, in any way, limits are set to the speaking of an individual, an "exception" is made to the First Amendment. But that premise is clearly false. It could be justified only if it were shown that the amendment intends to forbid every form of governmental control over the act of speaking. Is that its intention? Nothing could be further from the truth. May I draw an example from our own present activities in this room? You and I are here talking about Freedom within limits defined by the Senate. I am allowed to speak only because you have invited me to do so. And just now everyone else is denied that privilege. But further, you have assigned me a topic to which my remarks must be relevant. Your schedule, too, acting with generosity, fixes a time within which my remarks must be made. In a word, my speaking, though "free" in the First Amendment sense, is abridged in many ways. But your speaking, too, is controlled by rules of procedure. You may, of course, differ in opinion, from what I am saying. To that freedom there are no limits. But, unless the chairman intervenes, you are not allowed to express that difference by open speech until I have finished my reading. In a word, both you and I are under control as to what we may say and when and how we may say it. Shall we say, then, that this Conference, which studies the principle of Free Speech, is itself making "exceptions" to that principle?

I do not think so. Speech, as a form of human action, is subject to regulation in exactly the same sense as is walking, or lighting a fire, or shooting a gun. To interpret the First Amendment as forbidding such regulation is to so misconceive its meaning as to reduce it to nonsense.

The principle here at issue was effectively, though not clearly, stated by Mr. Justice Holmes when, in the *Frohwerk* case, he said:

> *"The First Amendment, while prohibiting legislation against free speech as such, cannot have been, and obviously was not, intended to give immunity to every form of language. . . . We venture to believe that neither Hamilton nor Madison, nor any other competent person, ever supposed that to make criminal the counselling of a murder would be an unconstitutional interference with free speech."*

Those words of the great Justice, by denying that the First Amendment intends to forbid such abridgments of speech as the punishing of incitement to murder seem to me to nullify completely the supposed evidence that the amendment is "open to exceptions." They show conclusively the falsity of the "exception" theory which has been used by the courts to give basis for the "danger" theory of legislative authority to abridge our Political Freedom. If, then, the "danger" theory is to stand it must stand on its own feet. And those feet, if my earlier argument is valid, seem to be made of clay.

The Positive Meaning of The First

Mr. Chairman, in the first section of this paper I spoke of the negative fact that the First Amendment forbids the Legislature to limit the Political Freedom of the People. May I now, surveying the same ground from its positive side, discuss with you the active powers and responsibilities of free citizens, as these are described or taken for granted in the general structure of the Constitution as a whole? If I am not mistaken, we shall find here the reason why the words of the great proclamation are so absolute, so uncompromising, so resistant of modification or exception.

The purpose of the Constitution is, as we all know, to define and allocate powers for the governing of the nation. To that end, three special governing agencies are set up, and to each of them are delegated such specific powers as are needed for doing its part of the work.

Now that program rests upon a clear distinction between the political body which delegates powers and the political bodies, legislative, executive, and judicial, to which powers are delegated. It presupposes, on the one hand, a supreme governing agency to which, originally, all authority belongs. It specifies, on the other hand, subordinate agencies to which partial delegations of authority are made. What, then, is the working relation between the supreme agency and its subordinates? Only as we answer that question shall we find the positive meaning of the First Amendment.

First of all, then, what is the supreme governing agency of this nation? In its opening statement the Constitution answers that question. "We the People of the United States," it declares, "do ordain and establish this Constitution . . ." Those are revolutionary words which define the freedom which is guaranteed by the First Amendment. They mark off our government from every form of despotic polity. The legal powers of the People of the United States are not granted to them by some one else—by kings or barons or priests, by legislators or executives or judges. All political authority, whether delegated or not, belongs constitutionally, to us. If any one else has political authority, we are lending it to him. We, the People, are supreme in our own right. We are governed directly or indirectly, only by ourselves.

One Power Not Delegated

But now what have We, the People, in our establishing of the Constitution done with the powers which thus inhere in us? Some of them we have delegated. But there is one power, at least, which we have not delegated, which we have kept in our own hands, for our own direct exercise. Article I, section 2, authorizes the people, in their capacity as "electors," to choose their Representatives. And that means that We, the People, in a vital sense, do actively govern those who, by other delegated powers, govern us. In the midst of all our assigning of powers to legislative, executive, and judicial bodies, we have jealously kept for ourselves the most fundamental of all powers. It is the power of voting, of choosing—by joint action, those representatives to whom certain of our powers are entrusted. In the view of the Constitution, then, We the People, are not only the supreme agency. We are, also, politically, an active electorate—a fourth, or perhaps better, a first branch which, through its reserved power governs at the polls. That is the essential meaning of the statement that we Americans are, in actual practice, politically, a free people. Our First Amendment freedom is not merely an aspiration. It is an arrangement made by women and men who vote freely and, by voting, govern the nation. That is the responsibility, the opportunity, which the Constitution assigns to us, however slackly and negligently we may at times have exercised our power.

It follows from what has just been said that, under the Constitution, we Americans are politically free only insofar as our voting is free. But to get the full meaning of that statement we must examine more closely what men are doing when they vote, and how they do it.

The most obvious feature of activity at the polls is the choosing among candidates for office. But, under our election procedures, with their party platforms and public meetings, with the turmoil and passion of partisan debate, the voters are also considering and deciding about issues of public policy. They are thinking. As we vote we do more than elect men to represent us. We also judge the wisdom or folly of suggested measures. We plan for the welfare of the nation. Now it is these "judging" activities of the governing people which the First Amendment protects by its guarantees of freedom from legislative interference. Because, as self-governing women and men, We the People, have work to do for the general welfare, we make two demands. First, our judging of public issues, whether done separately or in groups, must be free and independent—must be our own. It

What About "Communist Front" Organizations?

"It may be argued, however, that the so-called 'Communist front organizations' present an entirely new problem because they have objectionable purposes and include objectionable persons in their membership. . . .

"The membership situation is much the same now as it has always been. Propagandist organizations are not likely to be made up of men and women with conventional ideas. . . . The organizations opposed to slavery had members who urged violations of law, such as rescuing fugitive slaves and transporting them to Canada on the Underground Railway. Some of them even favored or participated in the attempt of John Brown to start a slave-rising in Virginia. Time and again the whole labor movement has been denounced as lawless because some unionists undoubtedly engaged in violence.

"It is sometimes assumed that the moderate members of an organization always have an obligation to oust the extremists or else resign themselves. But this is by no means plain. Throughout the history of this country, the propagandist organizations which I have been describing were engaged in a hard fight against determined opponents. Their chances of winning this fight would clearly have been weakened if they had also waged an internal war with their own extremists or if moderates had got out and stopped supporting the cherished purpose of the organization. . . .

" . . . there is a tremendous temptation to make the presence of extremists the excuse for outlawing an organization when the real reason for getting rid of it is not the fear of the extremists but the hatred of the legitimate purposes."

—Zechariah Chaffee, Jr., before the Hennings Inquiry

must be done by us and by no one else. And, second, we must be equally free and independent in expressing, at the polls, the conclusions, the beliefs, to which our judging has brought us. Censorship over our thinking, duress over our voting, are alike forbidden by the First Amendment. A legislative body, or any other body, which, in any way, practices such censorship or duress, stands in "contempt" of the sovereign people of the United States.

But, further, what more specifically, are the judging activities with which censorship and duress attempt to interfere? What are the intellectual processes by which free men govern a nation, which, therefore, must be protected from any external interference? They seem to be of three kinds.

The Mechanisms of Free Choice

First, as we try to "make up our minds" on issues which affect the general welfare, we commonly though not commonly enough, read the printed records of the thinking and believing which other men have done in relation to those issues. Those records are found in documents and newspapers, in works of art of many kinds. And all this vast array of idea and fact, of science and fiction, of poetry and prose, of belief and doubt, of appreciation aand purpose, of information and argument, the voter may find ready to help him in making up his mind.

Second, we electors do our thinking, not only by individual reading and reflection, but also in the active associations of private or public discussion. We think together, as well as apart. And, in this field, by the group action of congenial minds, by the controversies of opposing minds, we form parties, adopt platforms, conduct campaigns, hold meetings, in order that this or that set of ideas may prevail, in order that that measure or this may be defeated.

And third, when election day finally comes, the voter, having presumably made up his mind, must now express it by his ballot. Behind the canvas curtain, alone and independent, he renders his decision. He acts as sovereign, one of the governors of his country. However slack may be our practice that, in theory, is our freedom.

What, then, as seen against this Constitutional background, is the purpose of the First Amendment, as it stands guard over our freedom? That purpose is to see to it that, in none of these three activities of judging shall the voter be robbed, by action of other, subordinate branches of the government, of the responsibility, the power, the authority, which are his under the Constitution. What shall be read? What he himself decides to read. With whom shall be associate in political advocacy? With those with whom he chooses to associate. Whom shall be oppose? Those with whom he disagrees. Shall any branch of the government attempt to control his opinions or his vote, to drive him by duress or intimidation into believing or voting this way or that? To do this is to violate the Constitution at its very source. We, the People of the United States, are self-governing. That is what our Freedom means.

Mr. Chairman, this interpretation of the First Amendment which I have tried to give is, of necessity, very abstract. May I, therefore, give some more specific examples of its meaning at this point or that?

Not The Citizen Alone

First, when we speak of the amendment as guarding the freedom to hear and to read, the principle applies, not only to the speaking or writing of our own citizens, but also to the writing or speaking of every one whom a citizen, at his own discretion, may choose to hear or to read. And this means that unhindered expression must be open to non-citizens, to resident aliens, to writers and speakers of other nations, to anyone, past or present, who has something to say which may have significance for a citizen who is thinking of the welfare of this nation. The Bible, the Koran, Plato, Adam Smith, Joseph Stalin, Gandhi, may be published and read in the United States, not because they have, or had, a right to be published here, but because we, the citizen-voters, have authority, have legal power, to decide what we will read, what we will think about. With the exercise of that "reserved" power, all "delegated" powers are, by the Constitution, forbidden to interfere.

Second, in the field of public discussion, when citizens and their fellow thinkers "peaceably assemble" to listen to a speaker, whether he be American or foreign, conservative or radical, safe or dangerous, the First Amendment is not in the first instance, concerned with the "right" of the speaker to say this or that. It is concerned with the authority of the hearers to meet together, to discuss, and to hear discussed by speakers of their own choice, whatever they may deem worthy of their consideration.

Third, the same freedom from attempts at duress is guaranteed to every citizen as he makes up his mind, chooses his party, and, finally, casts his vote. During that process, no governing body may use force upon him, may try to drive him or lure him toward this decision or that, or away from this decision or that. And for that reason, no subordinate agency of the government has authority to ask, under compulsion to answer, what a citizen's political commitments are. The question, "Are you a Republican?" or "Are you a Communist?", when accompanied by the threat of harmful or degrading consequences, if an answer is refused, or if the answer is this rather than that, is an intolerable invasion of the "reserved powers" of the governing People. And the freedom thus protected does not rest upon the Fifth Amendment "right" of one who is governed to avoid self-incrimination. It expresses the constitutional authority, the legal power, of one who governs to make up his own mind without fear or favor, with the independence and freedom in which self-government consists.

And fourth, for the same reason, our First Amendment freedom forbids that any citizen be required, under threat of penalty, to take an oath, or make an affirmation as to beliefs which he holds or rejects. Every citizen, it is true, may be required, and should be required, to pledge loyalty, and to practice loyalty, to the nation. He must agree to support the Constitution. But he may never be required to *believe* in the Constitution. His loyalty may never be tested on grounds of adherence to, or rejection of, any *belief*. Loyalty does not imply conformity of opinion. Every citizen of the United States has Constitutional authority to approve or to condemn any laws enacted by the Judiciary, any principles established by the Constitution. All these enactments which, as men who are governed, we must obey, are subject to our approval or disapproval, as we govern. With respect to all of them, we, who are free men, are sovereign. We are "The People." We govern the United States.

Mr. Chairman, I have tried to state and defend the assertion that Constitutional guarantee of Political Freedom is not "open to exceptions." Judgment upon the theoretical validity of that position I now leave in your hands.

But, as between conflicting views of the First Amendment, there is also a practical question of efficiency. May I, in closing, speaking with the tentativeness becoming to a non-lawyer, offer three suggestions as to the working basis on which decisions about Political Freedom should rest?

What Free Debate Means

"Now suppose that legitimate purposes of the organization on one side happen to coincide with the view of active supporters of the Soviet Union. If the government makes that fact a reason for crippling those organizations in various ways, then those on the other side will pretty much have everything their own way. Insofar as there are errors in the arguments they present, it will be very difficult for those errors to be combatted by reason when the government silences a large number of potential opponents. Thus the danger of unwise decisions on public issues is increased. What kind of a boxing match would be it where the referee was constantly tripping up one of the fighters?"

—Zechariah Chaffee, Jr., before the Hennings Inquiry

First, the experience of the courts since 1919 seems to me to show that, as a procedural device for distinguishing forms of speech and writing and assembly which the amendment does protect from those which it does not protect, the "clear and present danger" test has failed to work. Its basic practical defect is that no one has been able to give it dependable, or even assignable meaning. Case by case, opinion by opinion, it has shifted back and forth with a variability of meaning which reveals its complete lack of Constitutional basis. In his opinion confirming the conviction of Eugene Dennis and others for violation of the Smith Act, Judge Learned Hand reviewed the long series of judicial attempts to give to the words "Clear and Present" a usable meaning. His conclusion reads, in part, as follows:

> *"The phrase 'clear and present danger' . . . is a way to describe a penumbra of occasions, even the outskirts of which are indefinable, but within which, as is so often the case, the courts must find their way as they can. In each case they must ask whether the gravity of the 'evil,' discounted by its improbability, justifies such an invasion of free speech as is necessary to avoid the danger."*

And to this bewildering interpretation of the words, "clear and present," he adds: "That is a test in whose application the utmost differences of opinion have constantly arisen, even in the Supreme Court. Obviously it would be impossible to draft a statute which should attempt to prescribe a rule for each occasion; and it follows, as we have said, either that the Act is definite enough as it stands, or that it is practically impossible to deal with such conduct in general terms."

Those words, coming from the penetrating and powerful mind of Learned Hand show how intolerable it is that the most precious, most fundamental, value in the American plan of Government should depend, for its defense, upon a phrase which, not only has no warrant in the Constitution, but has no dependable meaning, either for a man accused of crime or for the attorneys who prosecute or defend him or for the courts which judge him. That phrase does not do its work. We need to make a fresh start in our interpreting of the words which protect our Political Freedom.

Is "Advocacy" Protected?

Second, as we seek for a better test, it is, of course, true that no legal device can transform the making of decisions about Freedom into a merely routine application of an abstract principle. Self-government is a complicated business. And yet, the "no-exception" view which I have offered seems to me to promise a more stable and understandable basis for judicial decision than does the 1919 doctrine which the courts have been trying to follow. For example, the most troublesome issue which now confronts our courts, and our people, is that of the speech and writing and assembling of persons who find, or think they find, radical defects in our form of government, and who devise and advocate plans by means of which another form might be substituted for it. And the practical question is, "How far, and in what respects, is such revolutionary planning and advocacy protected by the First Amendment?"

It is, of course, understood that if such persons or groups proceed to forceful or violent action, or even to overt preparation for such action, against the government, the First Amendment offers them, in that respect, no protection. Its interest is limited to the freedom of judgment-making,—of inquiry and belief and conference and persuasion and planning and advocacy. It does not protect either overt action or incitement to such action. It is concerned only with those political activities by which, under the Constitution, free men govern themselves.

From what has just been said it follows that, so far as speech and writing are concerned, the distinction upon which the application of the First Amendment rests is that between "advocacy of action" and "incitement to action." To advocacy the amendment guarantees freedom, no matter what may be advocated. To incitement, on the other hand, the amendment guarantees nothing whatever.

This distinction was sharply drawn by Justice Brandeis when, in the *Whitney* case, he said,—

> *"Every denunciation of existing law tends in some measure to increase the probability that there will be violations of it. Condonation of a breach enhances the probability. Expressions of approval add to the probability. Propagation of the criminal state of mind by teaching syndicalism increases it. Advocacy of law-breaking heightens it still further. But even advocacy of violation, however reprehensible morally, is not a justification for denying free speech where the advocacy falls short of incitement and there is nothing to indicate that the advocacy would be immediately acted on."*

Only Incitement Barred

Those words, I think, point the way which decisions about our Political Freedom can, and should, follow. An incitement, I take it, is an utterance so related to a specific overt act that it may be regarded and treated as a part of the doing of the act itself, if the act is done. Its control, therefore, falls within the jurisdiction of the Legislature. An advocacy, on the other hand, even up to the limit of arguing and planning for the violent overthrow of the existing form of government, is one of those opinion-forming, judgment-making expressions which free men need to utter and to hear as citizens responsible for the governing of the nation. If men are not free to ask and to answer the question, "Shall the present form of our government be maintained or changed?" If, when that question is asked, the two sides of the issue are not equally open for consideration, for advocacy, and for adoption, then it is impossible to speak of our Government as established by the free choice of a Self-Governing People. It is not enough to say that the People of the United States were free one hundred and seventy years ago. The First Amendment requires, simply and without equivocation, that they be Free now.

Third, and finally, if we say, as this paper has urged, that, in many situations, speech and writing and assembly may be controlled by legislative action we must also say that such control may never be based on the ground of disagreement with opinions held or expressed. No belief or advocacy may be denied freedom if, in the same situation, opposing beliefs or advocacies are granted that freedom.

If, then, on any occasion in the United States, it is allowable to say that the Constitution is a good document, it is equally allowable, in that situation, to say that the Constitution is a bad document. If a public building may be used in which to say, in time of war, that the war is justified, then the same building may be used in which to say that it is not justified. If it be publicly argued that conscription for armed service is moral and necessary, it may be likewise publicly argued that it is immoral and unnecessary. If it may be said that American political institutions are superior to those of England or Russia or Germany, it may, with equal freedom, be said that those of England or Russia or Germany are superior to ours. These conflicting views may be expressed, must be expressed, not because they are valid, but because they are relevant. If they are responsibly entertained by any one, we, the voters, need to hear them. When a question of policy is "before the house," free men choose to meet it, not with their eyes shut, but with their eyes open. To be afraid, of any idea, is to be unfit for self-government. Any such suppression of ideas about the common good, the First Amendment condemns with its absolute disapproval. The freedom of ideas shall not be abridged.

This text was rushed to the printer's last Monday at the close of Prof. Meiklejohn's testimony in the belief that this eloquent defense of pure "fundamentalist" American doctrine should be available for the widest possible distribution. Extra copies may be purchased in bulk orders of 1,000 or more at 5 cents a copy, and at 10 cents for lesser quantities. Every organization concerned with civil liberty ought to put a copy into the hands of every member. Please telegraph your orders.

Capitol Roundup: Virginia Legislators Blame Gunnar Myrdal

U. S. and Soviet Journalists Find A Common Bond

The Soviet journalists got a friendly reception at the National Press Club here last week. The exchange of questions and answers wasn't very profound, but it was well calculated to provide a feeling of good fellowship, notably the prize final question from the U. S. side, "How do you fellows pad an expense account?" Most of the Soviet journalists wear their hair long and wavy, with a cowlick over their foreheads, like an earlier generation of newspapermen, who acted as if they only covered stories in order to keep themselves alive while they wrote sonnets after hours. . . .

The report last week-end of the Virginia Commission on Public Education blames the Supreme Court's school decision on "a lengthy treatise edited by Gunnar Myrdal, a European sociologist of slight experience in the United States." The report unanimously recommends amendment of the State Constitution to permit the payment of tuition in private schools so no pupil need be "integrated" against his will. . . . At the same time the members seem to feel they were very brave and "liberal" because they did not (as racist "radicals" suggested) recommend abolition of the public school system altogether.

A pleasant feature of the elections was the rout of the racist forces (described in the October 31 issue of the *Weekly*) in Arlington across the river from here. But the white liberals there, like those in South Africa, are not openly for integration; they merely want to defend the public school system and somehow "adjust" painlessly to the new court ruling. . . . Even some Southern papers seem to be shocked by the failure to indict the admitted kidnappers of Emmett Till. . . . Senator Stennis told an audience in Jackson, Miss., on November 10, Negroes should be told they must accept segregated schools or see the public school system abolished. . . . Thought U. S. Senators took an oath to uphold the laws and the Constitution?

The greatest enemies of the Negro have been his own apathy, his rich humor, his forgiving nature, his eagerness to live and be let alone. . . . But the Till case is arousing the Negro as never before, giving the minority-supported NAACP a wider base than it ever had. . . . Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mississippi spoke before a packed Vermont Avenue Baptist church here last Sunday night and the writer asked him afterward, "In your years in Mississippi, has a white man ever helped you or secretly expressed sympathy?" The answer was "No." . . . To hear him, one of the brave men of our time, a Moses of his people, was a deeply moving experience. . . .

Trial of six persons indicted for sedition in Louisville with Carl Braden was postponed until May 14 when they appeared in court last Monday. Their cases were postponed to wait the outcome of the appeal filed by Braden from the 15-year sentence given him last December. The outcome will also be affected by the Steve Nelson case, on which the Supreme Court was hearing argument as we went to press. . . .

Henry A. Wallace's speech to the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation in Des Moines last Tuesday, his first major public address in many years, was Wallace at his best—good humored, non-partisan and refreshingly analytical after the demagogy which marks most current political discussion of the farm problem. He advocated the "soil bank" idea instead of rigid supports, i.e. Federal subsidy to take unneeded land out of production. . . . The *Weekly* bares its head at the passing of Bernard De Voto, whose famous "Easy Chair" in *Harper's* took on the FBI and many other not-so-easy liberal issues in the course of his long career. In his last, in that magazine's November issue, De Voto said he was on many subversive lists and commented, "Nomination to them is the diagnostic test of decency for everyone who has a public forum."

What Most Book Reviewers Missed

Acheson Attacks Brownell

"The Attorney General's attitude is unhappily typical of the authoritarian mind at all times and places. If the state is faced with internal danger of any sort, the response lies in repression and the secret police. It is thought that dangers rooted in ideas can be repressed as burglars are repressed. If burglars are shown to enter more often through back doors and side doors than through front doors, then arrest all who enter through back and side doors. But, one protests, this will result in the arrest principally of innocent householders. The answer recalls us sternly to the path of duty. Shall we open the doors to burglars. Those who suggest this either do not understand the problem and the danger, or they are burglars, or their apologists and dupes."

—Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson in his new book, "A Democrat Looks At His Party," satirizing Attorney General Brownell's defense of the FBI secret informant system. Acheson's discussion of "The State and the Individual" deserves respectful salute: even now, out of office, it took courage to write.

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NEWSPAPER

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Iowa's Liberal Farm Organization

IOWA DIVISION FARMERS EDUCATIONAL AND COOPERATIVE UNION OF AMERICA

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L. E. HARTHAN, V. PRESIDENT
BETTY LOWNES, SEC'Y-TREAS.

PLAZA HOTEL
419 5TH STREET
DES MOINES, IOWA

PHONE 3-0972

May 21, 1955

W.E.B.Dubois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

Serious illness for the last ten days is the reason for my tardiness in answering your letter of May 2nd.

Most certainly I would be willing to be re-elected as one of the American members of the Council.

But while we have been doing everything we can here in our own way on the peace question, I have been of no help to the World Council and there are no doubt many other individuals who could be of direct help who would serve in that capacity. This you should consider. For until we win the two law suits that we are currently involved in (both growing out of our peace activity) I won't have much time to give to the World Council.

Later I would hope to do a great deal, regardless of whether I am a member of the Council or not.

Yours sincerely,

F. W. Stover.

F. W. Stover

27-14-43

Iowa Farmers Union
517 Keo
Des Moines 9
Iowa

December 22, 1955

Holland Roberts
321 Divisadero
California Labor School
San Francisco 17, California

Dear Holland Roberts:

Here it will soon be two months since you wrote me. I'm so very sorry. I shall not try to tell you how busy I have been. There were other reasons too. I am involved in two law suits here, both growing out or at least related to my connection with the peace movement.

At the time I got your letter and for some time thereafter, it looked as though one of the suits might be settled out of court, and the other was slated to be heard the first week in December. Now it has been postponed further and there is no immediate prospect of settling either suit.

My attorneys, of course, have been very concerned about any further activities in connection with the peace movement and therefore I have delayed telling you just what I could do. But lawyers or no, I do not want to duck any responsibilities.

I have little hope of getting much support from labor--organized labor. Sure there is interest among the workers--lots of it. But not the top leadership. The other points you raise about representation should not be difficult.

Dr. Du Bois sent me a copy of his letter to you of November 29. I feel the suggestions in the last paragraph of his letter are O. K. At least I have no better proposal.

Rev. Dorr writes that you may be in New York early next month and that he would like to arrange a meeting at that time. Of course, I have nothing else to go to New York for but if I can possibly do it, I will. Thingsbeing as they are here, I never know for sure what dates I might be able to get away. Don't try to arrange the time to suit me. Let me know what time you will be there and I'll see what I can do. Season's greetings.

Sincerely,

Fred

F. W. Stover, President
Iowa Farmers Union

FWS/js
CC John W. Darr, Jr.
W. E. B. Du Bois

P.S. Greetings to you Dr Du Bois
Fred.

27-12-10

Holland Roberts
Page 2
December 22, 1955

P. S. The suits referred to are: My suit against a broadcasting company for $250,000. The NBC carried a half hour program in 1954 over all their stations aimed just at me, calling me a Communist, etc.

The other is a suit brought by Jim Patton of the National Farmers Union against our Iowa Farmers Union because we wouldn't "fold up" after he decided to revoke our State Charter. The real reason was our opposition to the Cold War.

The publicity attendant to both suits, of course, usually brought out our activity in the peace movement and our opposition to Truman's "Police action."

[Sullivan]

Nov 17 1955
2434 Grant St
Omaha 10 Nebr

Dr.W.E.B.Du Bois

Thirty-One Grace Court

Brooklyn 2,N.Y

Dr.Du Bois,Dear Sir.

This Sir.Is to imform you that I receive the Manuscript.Due to the kindness of the postal clerk,as you some how did not get my correct name. Also as it was sent first class as mail I suppose it need,nt had been open yet it was however I did get it.

Dr. Du Bois I must add I was greatly disappointed in your reply. I hardly expected any thing short of a full opinion from you regardless of how critical.To be faced with a statement without explanation leave me with no alternative.I assume the right to say you did not have to like it while at the same time you leave me with the privledge to believe your opinion is personal if not bias. I would like to repeat far your infor--mation,while at the same time not appear to be in the act of repetition, that in my statement far the press I.Stated, That I would endeavor to give my opinions,and suggestions and also state facts as to cause that could of played a part in the decision of those soldiers that remained in korea with reference to my son as well.

Dr.Du Bois I also felt that the incidents in my life had a direct affect on my son life as well as his ~~own.~~ decision. I hardly believe any american have succeeded in scareing him into anything,and to I agree with you that he should do what he consider right. in the light of these facts I feel that the manuscript have full filled my promise to the press. And to Dr.Du Bois I might add that I was deladge by the press far these facts. Now if you care to give me your honest and unbiased opinion with explanations of disapproval I can assure you I shall receive it.

42-1A-70

Yes I agreed to Mr.Cameron suggestion to have you see the manuscript and while I cannot say that I know or have had the honor to meet such regarded communist as you say you have met, while I dont regard Mr. Cameron as a communist I think he is a rather fine man. Since we have a choice between the American way of life and communism and while I might regard a man ability to be a communist I find no cause to make a issue of it or dignify it. ~~Therefore I choose [illegible]~~ Therefore I choose the American way. Contemplating the possibilities of fair opposition in in this cause, as I realize we cannot all see eye to eye on such matters I hardly expected rebellion.

In the light of this statement with such apparent opposition I feel that I might have to pursue the idea of bringing this matter before the public by means of the press. In reference to a statement by which the public may know that the manuscript is ready and shall decide far themselves if they want it or not. Not been as learned in the field of publication as some, I gather that it also might serve the purpose to put me in contact with said publishers. I truly hope that in the future I shall be blessed to be honored to have your esteemed ability in my ~~coner~~ corner.

While already having the assurance of the office of our Chief-Excutiv that as a free American, I am intitle to my opinion I hope to pursue this matter the best way I know how. So Dr. Du Bois in my conclusion may I say surely I appreciate a reply in the future. With respect yours I remain,

Ralph P. Sullivan Sr.

Ralph P. Sullivan Sr

42-1A-71

310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, 18, N.Y.
January 17, 1955

Dear Dr. DuBois and Shirley:

The enclosed about Labor Monthly will be self explanatory. The letters on Irvin and Midway will be painfully so to their recipients -- I note that Lehman protested the Midway visit so I am sending him a copy. I made more of an obeisance to NAACP in the Irvin letter than I feel their record quite warranted -- but that's the Irish in me!

As for Marc's memorial, will you please tell the friends there that just as soon as I get custody of my bail bond dividends I will come through.

Affectionately,

Muriel Symington

27-12-24

310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, 18, N.Y.
March 14, 1955

Dear Folks:

I hope the Haiti holiday was both restful and rewarding. I enclose two clips from the L.D.W. -- and in case you might miss it my humble but sincere tribute to Dr. DuBois. I sent a letter to the Guardian but haven't seen it in print as yet.

Since you may have missed it in your absence I enclose a clipping from the H.T. I have a number of them and will send them to some people in Europe who will reprint this as a labor of love!

It is a truly magnificent statement by Hopi Chief, Katchongva. Its noble dignity and the impressiveness of its deep reproach are not marred by invective. Its quality and purpose make it worthy to be read to both houses of Congress and for inclusion in the Congressional Record.

It should be required reading and committed to memory by our peripatetic Secretary of State, before he embarks on his next feverish missionary trip to Asia. For crassly insentive as he is, John Foster Dulles MIGHT feel impelled at least to lower his voice as he peddles the principles we do not practice at home in respect to our oldest minority, the American Indian. I am mailing a clipping to Senator Lehman.

Warmest regards,

Muriel I. Symington

27-12-29

[Symington]

310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, 18, N.Y.
April, 1955

HOW "SUPREME" IS OUR SUPREME COURT?

Sixty years after the "separate but equal" doctrine was established, on May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down its historic decision -- that segregation in public school education is unconstitutional. On April 9th, 1955, the state of Virginia filed a brief with the Court, contending that integration in its public schools is "impossible at this time." This is a formal, judicial defiance of the Supreme Court decision and of the Court's intention to implement it.

However this is not merely a defiance of the Judicial branch of government, for ours is a tripartite government vested with equal powers -- Judiciary, Legislative, vested in the Congress, and Executive, vested in the President. Consequently, it is not only within the power of the Congress but its duty, to support a Supreme Court decision by the passage of enabling legislation, giving a decision the force of law, while the President is empowered to instruct the Attorney General to bring action against any individual who wilfully impedes the abolition of segregation in public schools.

Among the arguments presented in defense of Virginia's contention are that Negroes, in comparison with whites, have a lower level of educational attainments, a higher rate of infectious diseases and ten times the number of illegitimate births. With devastating simplicity, these simple facts, if true, expose the ugly reality behind the dictum that "separate but equal" educational facilities meet the standards of democracy and work no harm either to Negro or white citizens.

"Separate" it is true. But what cynical hypocrisy to have called them "equal!" And with unblushing effrontery this bill of particulars designedly leaves the impression that, by reason of these handicaps, the Negro is inferior -- intellectually, physically and morally -- and that we must KEEP him inferior! This implication is, in truth, "rubbing salt into the wound" -- and who could honestly accuse any Negro of unjustifiable lack of charity were he to say -- "you knock us down and kick us for falling!"

With shamefully belated understanding, the Supreme Court decision embodied the realization that ..."the asserted feeling of inferiority that may affect (Negro) hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone." Countering this, the Virginia brief makes obeisance to white sensibilities -- "The public school cannot be preserved and protected if the psychology of

27-12-31

the whites is disregarded."

But what of the psychology of the Negroes, which the foregoing quotation from the Supreme Court decision takes into account? Is it not enough that years of relegation to second-class citizenship have embittered their minds and wounded their sensibilities? Is it not eough that, with almost superhuman patience, more than 15,000,000 Negroes have borne their alienation from the pledges made in the Preamble to the Constitution — to establish a more perfect union, domestic tranquillity, justice, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty.

Thus Virginia and her sister states of the south hurl a challenge against the first tentative step to remedy one form of the many racist oppressions and traditions which have made millions of our Negro fellow-citizens semi-exiles from their democratic heritage. It is the bounden duty, opportunity and privilege of every American to demand that segregation in public school education be ended, so that we may clear the decks for action on the many other aspects of discrimination which still remain to challenge our conscience. Unhappily, not one state in the Union is in a position to pluck the beam out of southern eyes, while ignoring the mote in its own eyes. The shadow of recist injustice lies heaviest on the south, but in one form or another it is practised everywhere in our country.

Our shameful record works harm to every white American at home and will indelibly taint our reputation abroad. Are we so naive as to believe that attempts to render nugatory the Supreme Court decision will not create distrust among the nations of the west? Will it not be noted with scorn by the colored peoples of the world, today dedicated to the abolition of that international racism — colonialism? At the Asian-African Conference about to take place in Bandung it would not be surprising if the attempts of the southern states to compromise the enlightened decision of the Supreme Court were to become a subject for discussion among the delegates — informally or otherwise — as giving the lie to American protestations that we are the selfless saviours of the world from "tyranny." It will be another broken fence that our perpetual fount of unctuous piety, John Foster Dulles, is powerless to mend.

Can we not realize that, here at home, we are immeasurably poorer for the cruel handicaps we have imposed on a richly gifted group? Many a Negro has risen to distinction -- like a phoenix rising from the ashes of defeat — in proud refutation of the slander that his is an inherently inferior race — a triumphant resurrection from the grave in which racism sought to bury

27-12-32

all ambition, dignity and hope. Every decent white adult must blush for shame, knowing that only a comparative handful out of millions of adult Negroes, by dint of heroic efforts and their unconquerable spirit, have been able to surmount the obstacles with which they have been beset in "democratic" America.

92 long years have elapsed since Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation — and still the gates of opportunity for Negroes are only ajar. These gates must and will be thrown wide open. But we must insist that the first step be taken. The Supreme Court decision — with no exceptions and no reservations — must be honored — NOW!

Muriel

Muriel I. Symington

27-12-33

April 4, 1955

Miss Muriel Symington
310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn 18, N.Y.

Dear Miss Symington:

We had a very restful sojourn in Haiti and were treated with courtesy.

Thank you for the clippings which you have sent, and for your good words.

27-12-30

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

April 18, 1955

Miss Muriel I. Symington
310 Windsor Pl.
Brooklyn 18, N.Y.

Dear Miss Symington:

Let me thank you again for the last clippings which you sent. Perhaps I have already done p so, but I am afraid not, in the rush of work since we have returned from Haiti.

We really had a beautiful trip, quite to our surprise.

Yours, with love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-12-55

[Symington]

Saturday

Dear Friends:

Oh dear -- I intended to mark the birthday with a message of congratulation (congratulating we who have benefited so signally from the "birthday child's" rich contribution to every significant phase of American life and world-wide hopes of a better society for us all.)

Affectionately,

Manuel

27-12-28

[Symington]

310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, 18, N.Y.
May 7, 1955

The Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

The proposed appointment of former Congressman, John S. Wood of Canton, Georgia to the Subversive Activities Control Board cannot charitably be ascribed to ignorance of this man's sentiments and activities. Active in Klan affairs he was true to type when he blocked investigation of the Klan by the unAmerican Activities Committee, and in his support of an organization — own brother to the Klan — Homer Loomis' terrorist group — the Columbians.

Listed under Memorable Dates in the 1955 edition of World Almanac, I find the following:

> 1866: "Ku Klux Klan formed secretly in South to terrorize Negroes who voted. Disbanded 1869; revived 1920, later suppressed. It's methods (burning crosses, night conclaves) used sporadically in the south."

27-12-22

The foregoing draws a veil of reticent charity over the Klan, discreetly omitting the cowardly anonymity of their white robes and masks, worn so that they might, in safety, not only lynch, burn and beat hapless, helpless Negroes, but also menace the lives and property of those courageous southerners, honorably determined to make viable the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863.

Nevertheless, this brief description establishes the Klan, existent for 89 years, as the oldest — AND GENUINE — conspiracy against American democracy. I am driven to the harsh conclusion that in listing the Klan among a lengthening roster of subversive organizations, former Attorney General Clark did so with tongue in cheek. Notwithstanding this listing, investigation of the Klan was blocked by John S. Wood then a member of the unAmerican Activities Committee; no hearings on the Klan have been called by SACB; and finally, in the cynical effrontery of the proposed appointment to this Board of an unabashed member of the Klan, John S. Wood — constituting a guarantee that should he be appointed, SACB will never bring charges against the Klan.

It makes any American, knowing the facts, sick at heart to realize the character of even a few of the many organizations listed as "subversive" by Messrs. Clark and Brownell which do NOT bear charmed lives, but who are now being driven from pillar to post by SACB with the assistance of the Board's stable of venal or psychopathic informers. It is ironical that the very organizations openly and unconspiratorially dedicated to aims which are anathema to the sacrosanct Klan — Civil Rights Congress, Council on African Affairs, Jefferson School of Social Science, Committee for Protection of Foreign Born —

are to be hamstrung, crippled and even proscribed for their "conspiracy" to make democracy live.

To keep ex-Congressman Wood off this Board is only putting plaster on a cancer. This Board and all its works must be consigned to the limbo of forgotten things, and that is the task to which American decency — private citizens and enlightened legislators — must dedicate themselves.

But our democratic heritage will not be fully restored to us so long as the existence of the Klan is tolerated. It is significant that its revival in 1920 took place in the aftermath of World War I, when such suppression of civil rights as the Palmer Raids took place. Now, after World War II it once again raises its ugly head — under grimly analogous conditions! The Klan can never co-exist with a healthy society. It must and shall be extirpated — root and branch — consigned to the limbo of shameful memories.

Respectfully yours,

Muriel I. Symington

Copy to
Mr. Thomas C. Hennings, Jr.
Chairman, Senate Judiciary Subcommittee

Senator Harvey M. Kilgore
Senator Herbert H. Lehman
Senator Irving Ives

27-12-23

310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, 18, N.Y.
May 9, 1955

Dear Shirley:

The enclosed arrived just before I left on a brief vacation -- I was stunned! I should be glad to have it back for my files and, as I said, if Dr. DuBois feels it should be answered if he will be good enough to indicate what should be said I will be happy to reply. I am somewhat at a loss and I know that if a reply would be useful, out of his ripe experience he will know the most effective "pitch".

Shirley! On the 18th of April I received a note from W.E.B. graciously acknowledging material I had sent which ended "Yours with love". I felt as if I had received the Victoria Cross, the Congressional Medal of Honor, the Legion d'honneur and the Order of the Garter. I am puffed up with pride -- now I don't mind if he goes on calling me "Miss Symington"!

I hope you approve the current blast -- about Wood -- which I enclose -- I designedly separated the last paragraph from the first portion dealing with the Klan -- because I wanted that to be a final "punch" and emphasized!

Love to you both,

Muriel

Muriel I. Symington

27-12-26

May 12, 1956

Miss Muriel Symington
310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn 18, N.Y.

My dear Muriel:

Thank you for letting me see this letter from the State Department. It is, indeed, extraordinary that they went to all this trouble to justify themselves.

I do not think, however, it would do any good to continue the correspondence. I should simply lay this aside to be used at some future date.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

37-12-37

Teachers Union
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
EST.1916

115

206 WEST 15th STREET
NEW YORK 11, NEW YORK
TEL: WATKINS 4-5524

President Abraham Lederman • Vice-President Harry Starfield • Legislative Representative Rose V. Russell • Secretary Lucile Spence • Treasurer Mildred K. Garvin

March 15, 1955

Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois:

"Man's Fight for Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof"

This is the theme of the Nineteenth Annual Educational Conference of the Teachers Union, to be held April 2 at the Hotel Commodore, New York City. The program consists of four panel discussions of current professional problems, followed by a plenary luncheon session in the Grand Ballroom.

Each year the climax of the conference, which is generally attended by some 2,000 teachers, is the presentation of an Award for distinguished service in the cause of education. We have been honored by having as recipients of our Award individuals who are among the foremost scholars and scientists in America, including in recent years, Alexander Meiklejohn, W.E.B. DuBois, Thomas I. Emerson, Albert Einstein, and Harlow Shapley.

You will undoubtedly agree that this high tradition is continued in the selection of Corliss Lamont for our 1955 Citation. We are honored to pay tribute to him for his valiant and unswerving defense of intellectual freedom.

I am certain that Dr. Lamont would feel pleased and honored by a greeting from you, as would the great assemblage of teachers and others who will be at the conference. May I hear from you as soon as possible?

27-10-97

Yours very sincerely,

Abraham Lederman

Abraham Lederman
President

AL:jw
ftul/1283

[Teachers Union]

42-1A-43

322 New York Avenue
Brooklyn 13, New York
December 21, 1955
IN 7-1049

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

This is to confirm our telephone conversation of Monday evening, December 19, 1955. The event is the Third Annual Freedom Fund Dinner given by the Teachers Union chapter of the Little Red School House and the Elisabeth Irwin High School.

The date is Friday, January 13, 1956 at 7 P.M. at the Port Arthur restaurant, 7 Mott Street, Manhattan. The fee is $25.00 plus expenses.

After dinner there will be a few minutes of entertainment by Bob and Louise DeCormier. Then you will be introduced by Dr. Randolph Smith, director of the school. Since the audience will be composed of parents, friends, and staff of the school, I am sure they would be anxious to hear from you on any phase of the struggle to extend the quantity and quality of education, and its general implications for today. Needless to say, feel free to treat this or any other topic you choose to speak on with complete "academic freedom"!

Mrs.Kirshner and I would be happy to pick you and Mrs. Du Bois up at about 6:30 that evening if it is convenient to you. If you should have any question about anything, please call me.

May I extend my thanks and those of our Union chapter to you for consenting to speak to us.

Sincerely yours,

Harold Kirshner

HAROLD KIRSHNER.

L

42-1A-98

December 28, 1955

Mr. Harold Kirshner
322 New York Avenue
Bklyn 13, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Kirshner:

This is to confirm my talk for you at the Port Arthur Restaurant Friday, January 13. My subject will be: The public school. We would be glad to have you pick us up at 6:30 p. m. Grace Court is off Hicks Street and Hicks is one way from Atlantic Avenue North.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
R. O'HARA LANIER, PRESIDENT
HOUSTON, TEXAS

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
OFFICE OF THE LIBRARIAN

March 16, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Texas Southern University, one of the two state supported institutions of education for Negores in Texas, has acquired sometime ago a collection of historical material on the Negro. This collection has been named the Heartman Collection. The Heartman Negro Collection is of enormous historical, and education value for students and faculty members seeking information on the background and development of Negro people, their contributions in world progress, and their impact on world culture. This collection consists of books, pamphlets, periodicals, maps, broadsides, documents, almanacs, lithographs, oil paintings, musical scores, clippings, cartoons, and various curios, dating from 1600 to 1948.

The literature of this collection is devoted, not only to the Negro in the United States, but contains information dealing with the background and development of Negro people in every section of the globe, where they have lived in any concentrated number. At present, emphasis is placed on historical rather than the contemporary aspect of the Negro's contribution to world progress, and his impact on world culture. The Heartman Negro Collection is perhaps the largest and most important collection on the Negro to be found in the Southwest section of the United States. Its place among other known collections on this subject cannot be determined until all the materials have been processed to ascertain the exact nature of its contents, and a comparison of the holdings of other collections is made. However, over

27-17-36

half of the items in this collection have been catalogued to date, and a cursory examination reveals its enormous historical and educational value. I am writing you for additional help in building of this collection.

The collection was purchased in 1947 when the state took over a private institution and made it into Texas Southern University. The collection now comprises of approximately 12,000 items, of which 4,707 are books, and 5,182 are pamphlets. The remaining items are composed of unbound pamphlets, newspapers, broadsides, maps, etc. A great deal of the processing of materials has been completed. Those things that remain to be done now are problems which will have to be solved over a period of time because of unauthentitative data, no author's name and material of that nature. Because of this, we are going ahead and attempting to build the collection. We are primarily interested in material that has been published, owned by or about the Negro since 1947. We are also interested in material of an earlier historical nature which we might not have in the collection. Because of your keen interest and concern with the Negro, his problem, and his culture we thought that you might be able to give us some help.

By help I mean referring us to persons who have dealt with books of this nature; that is,book dealers and book sellers. We have checked many bibliographies and are securing those things which we do not at present have, but as always occurs, there are many things that do not get listed in bibliographies, but which would be of tremendous value to a collection of this nature. If you will send me the names and addresses of small,perhaps booksellers who might have materials that we would be desirous of purchasing I would appreciate it very much.

Another big problem with the collection is the recent loss of the librarian in charge of the collection. This young lady, comparatively new to the field of library science, did a remarkable job in processing and classifying the material. Upon her marriage, however, she left us to join her husband. We do not at present have a librarian in charge of the collection. If, in your travels and among your acquaintences you know of any young lady or young man, a librarian,who might be interested in working with such a collection, I would appreciate your sending his or her name and address to me, or perhaps better still, having them write me. I can give you no details on salary because salary in such a position should be and is an open proposition. Salary will, however, depend upon the qualifications, training, and experience.

Thank you very much for whatever help you will be able to give me in this problem. I am

Very sincerely yours,

Richard G. Griffin
Richard G. Griffin
Acting University Librarian

RGG/sj

27-17-38

March 28, 1955

Mr. Richard G. Griffin, Librarian
Texas Southern University
Houston, Texas

My dear Mr. Griffin:

Answering your letter of March 16 may I say I am glad to hear of the Heartman Negro Collection and hope that you will develop it.

You will find that nearly all the second hand book dealers in the United States carry a list of books on and by Negroes which are for sale. I can refer you to:

Barnes and Noble
18 Fifth Avenue,
New York City

University Place Book Shop
69 University Place
New York City

Union Library Association
123 East 24 Street
New York City

The chief Negro collections with which you should make some comparisons are:

The Schomburg Collection, 104 West 136, New York City (of the New York Public Library)
The Howard University Collection
The Atlanta University Collection
The Fisk University Collection

I may say that my own library of 2000 books, pamphlets and manuscripts may be on the market some time. You could correspond with my wife, Shirley Graham Du Bois, 31 Grace Court, Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

For taking charge and developing such a collection you need a trained person of ability. One of the best would be Dr. L. D. Reddick, now Chief at Atlanta University Library, and former head of the Schomburg Collection. It is possible that he would consider a change of employment but that I do not know. You may correspond with him at Atlanta University. Also, he undoubtedly could make recommendations.

27-17-39

March 28, 1955

There is certainly a great need of a library on the American Negro and Africa in your part of the country.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-17-40

P.O. Box 661
Salem, Oregon
Feb. 23, 1955

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

As a former reader of the "Crisis" a subscriber to "Spotlight on Africa" and a charter subscriber to "The People's World", "Freedom" "National Guardian" and "Masses and Mainstream" I wish, along with my wife, to congratulate you on your long and very useful life.

Our very best regards,

Ray and Malie Thomas

27-15-5

March 23, 1955

Mr. and Mrs. Martin Thomas
P.O. Box 661
Salem, Oregon

27-15-6

Dear Friends:

Thank you very much for your kind greetings on February 23.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[THOMAS]

8544
MADE IN U.S.A.

27-15-7

Greetings
on Your
BIRTHDAY

Whatever your wishes may be,
May every one come true!
Whatever your hopes and plans,
May they succeed for you!

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois:

Best wishes to you on your 87th birthday.

Ray and Madie Thomas

thorpe [Thorpe]

Ans X July 18 55

Department of Social Science
Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
July 11, 1955

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This is a request for information which I sincerely hope you will feel free to furnish. I am a thirty-one year old Negro Ph.D. in History (Ohio State University, Summer, 1953), who has recently joined the faculty at Southern University. Along with another volume-sized manuscript on philosophy or theory of history, my doctoral dissertation entitled, "Negro Historiography in the U.S.A." is currently being considered for publication by the American Historical Association. I am now engaged in research for a volume-sized manuscript which is to be an intellectual history of the Negro race in the U.S.A. Inspiration for this latter work came from such studies as V. L. Parrington's, *Main Currents in American Thought*; J. H. Randall, *Making of the Modern Mind*; H. S. Commager, *The American Mind*; and Crane Brinton, *Ideas and Men*.

27-178-28

Excuse such a lengthy introduction. My problem is this. I notice that you were the primary force behind the launching of the Niagara Movement. Document "C," p. 900 of Aptheker's, *Documentary History of the Negro People* convinces me of this. Yet, in Document "E", p. 904 of this same source, you give "the honor of founding the organization" to others. Because of this, plus your many previous organizational activities, and because of the similarity of the two organizations, I am convinced that you were also the primary individual who led in getting the N.A.A.C.P. launched. Yet, here again, persons such as W. E. Walling, Mary W. Ovington, Dr. H. Moskowitz, and O. G. Villard are given credit for being the main instigators of N.A.A.C.P.

I believe it would be a great service to the cause of eternal truth if you can, and will, point me to sources which will verify or condemn my conclusion. If no such sources exist, please inform me as to whether any correspondence regarding the needs of Afro-Americans passed between yourself and either W. R. Walling, Mary W. Ovington, and Dr. H. Moskowitz prior to September 3, 1908 or between that date and February 12, 1909, and how I might secure copies of this correspondence.

I regret this imposition on your time and hope that the importance of the research effort which I am making may serve as a proper excuse for it. May I thank you kindly in advance for whatever help you may find it possible to give me. I have long been an admirer of both you and your wife, and wish that I could claim you both as personal acquaintances and friends. Please say hello to her for me.

Respectfully,

E E Thorpe

Earl E. Thorpe,
Professor of History.

TOPICAL THEATRE
2 fl. - 77 Fifth Ave - NYC

[Topical Theatre]

April 22, 1955

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois:
25 West 26th St.
New York City

Dear Doctor Dubois:

Enclosed you will find a copy of a play on Frederick Douglass, written recently by one of our playwrights. Though we know how busy you are, we would consider it a great privilege if you would find time to read this play and give us the benefit of your comments.

27-10-68

This play is shortly to be included in a mimeographed volume of our plays for general distribution. The plays in the volume are by Negro and White authors. I am also enclosing some material which sets forth the background and purposes of our theatre.

May we hope for the honor of a reply.

Sincerely,

George Scudder

George Scudder

[Topical]

April 25, 1955

Mr. George Seudder
Topical Theatre
2nd floor
77 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Seudder:

I regret to say that my own work is so taxing that I cannot spare the proper amount of time to read and criticise the writing of others.

I am sorry to have to return this unread.

27-10-90

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[TOWNS]

Towns

594 University Pl. N.W.
Atlanta. 14 Ga.,
Nov. 18, 1955.

42-1A-37

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Greetings!

This year, the Gate City Day Nursery Association of which I am the Treasurer, and which was formerly known as the Gate City Free Kindergarten Association, is celebrating its Fiftieth birthday at a public meeting on Friday evening, Dec. 2. in Dean Sage Hall at Atlanta University.

Since you were present at the "forming" of the Association and for many years were interested in its growth and its service to the children of the Atlanta community, I have been asked by our Board to invite you, as one of our earliest friends and well-wishers, to send to us a letter of greeting which could be read to the audience. The audience will be made up of former teachers, and other staff members of the Association, past and present Board members, Social workers from other agencies, and we hope of many friends from the Atlanta Community, who are interested in what we have done and are doing for the children of the Community.

I have been asked by the Board to issue this invitation to you, Mrs. Gertrude Ware Bunce and to Mrs. Katherine Davidson, three of the good friends of those early years, when we needed the help and advice and encouragement which each of you gave.

We are now operating three Day Nurseries, with well trained teachers and adequate facilities and we operate under the standards of the National Child Welfare Leage, of which we are a member.

I do hope that you will be able to take time out of your busy life to send us a greeting on our fiftieth birthday. We shall be deeply grateful for your kindness.

My husband and Grace join me in every good wish to you and all of your family, now and always.

Sincerely yours.
Nellie M. Towns.

November 22, 1955

Dear Mrs. Towns :

Will you kindly greet the Gate City Day Nursery Association for me and my wife, Shirley Graham, on its Fiftieth Birthday. I remember well the birth of the Gate City Free Kindergarten in the mind of Gertrude Ware. We talked over her plans frequently on the Long Walk from South Hall to the street. Those were the days when I was dreaming of a nation-wide study of American Negroes and their progress, centering at Atlanta University. Three young dreamers stood beside me: George Towns, Edward Ware and Gertrude.

42-1A-38

All that we then dreamed did not come true, in the way we visioned, but much did survive and grow into reality. Today your Association is one of many proofs of the efficacy of your dreams, especially in the darkness of night; for always, sometimes the Morning comes.

I hope that the City of Atlanta has found guts enough to help support your effort which it long hesitated to do in the case of the Kindergartens. If not, I am not disappointed; if it does, I congratulate the city on coming to life at last.

Tonight I go to celebrate with good friends, the vain effort of the United States government to put me in jail five years ago because I talked then as I talk now for world peace. And at this close of the eighty-eighth year of my [illegible] Black Atlanta u

Very sincerely,

W.E.B. DuBOIS

594 University Pl. N.W.
Atlanta 14, Ga.,
Dec. 8, 1955.

42-117-39

Dear Dr. DuBois,
Thank you ever so much for your good letter of greeting in honor of the 50th birth-day of the G.C.D.N. Ass. Both Mrs. Burrel and Mrs. K. D. Davidson, wrote letters also. The three letters were read and everyone was interested in what these three people had to say about the birth of the Association. I was so glad to have you emphasize the importance of "dreams" which, with faith, hope and hard work, often do become realities.

Thank you, also, for the very good personal note which

3/ us our sixth grandchild — a little girl! Six grand-children and one great grandchild! It doesn't seem as if that could be so, does it? But so it is, and we feel very happy to be so blessed.

Grace is still as busy as ever, and at present is out of the city, having gone to the W. H. C. on Ed., and after that to Philadelphia to visit Eleanor and her family. Grace as grandmother! Believe it or not!

George joins me in warm greetings to you and your wife, and to Yolande. May the Christmas season be a happy one for each of you, and gave us interesting news about your activities. It certainly sounds as if you are leading a full, happy and interesting life, and we send you our congratulations. You are especially to be congratulated upon having your eyes and ears holding out, and still serving you so well.

We shall look forward to reading your new book when it appears.

We – George and I – have just returned from a visit to Myron and his family who live in Nashville. They have just moved into a nice little home of their own, have two fine boys, the elder 12, the younger 7, and we always enjoy visiting them.

On Dec. 4, Harriet, our younger daughter, gave

(4)

may all of your efforts for peace, some day be realized.

Sincerely yours,

Nellie M. Towns.

42-1A-40

594 University Pl. N.W.
Atlanta 14, Ga.,
Dec. 26, 1955.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Following is the information which you requested.

Left	Center	Right.
Esop - Homer, Virgil	Carnegie	Dante, Milton, Poe.

George and Grace joins me in best wishes to you and Mrs. Du Bois, for health and happiness in the New Year.

Sincerely yours
Nellie M. Towns

[Belgian Union for the Defence of Peace]

UNION BELGE POUR LA DEFENSE DE LA PAIX

SECRETARIAT : 17, RUE WATTEEU, BRUXELLES

TELEPHONE : 12.52.32
C. CHEQ. POST. : 8175.68

BRUXELLES, le 8 novembre I955

Monsieur le Prefesseur
W.E. DUBOIS
23, W. 26th Street
NEW-YORK, N.Y.-U.S.A

42-1A-57

Chers Amis,

Nous avons le plaisir de vous informer que nous organiserons les 11 et I2 février I956 une Rencontre des Belges pour la Détente et le Désarmement.

Nous espérons pouvoir donner à cette manifestation une ampleur exceptionnelle. Elle se déroulera sous la forme :
1) d'un très large débat entre tous ceux qui appartenant ou non à notre mouvement, sont soucieux de défendre la Paix,
2) d'une grande manifestation nationale à laquelle assisteront des participants et organisations venus de toutes les régions du pays.

Nous serions particulièrement heureux si votre Comité pouvait être repésenté à cette Rencontre et si cela s'avérait impossible pour vous, que vous nous envoyiez tout au moins un message.

Votre délégation ou votre message constituerait le témoignage vivant de l'amitié et du soutien des peuples dans leur lutte pour la Paix, cela contribuerait aussi pour nous au succès de cette manifestation qui s'inscrit dans notre campagne pour la détente.

Nous espérons que vous pourrez répondre favorablement à notre demande et nous vous en remercions vivement à l'avance.

Nous tenons à vous signaler que nous nous proposons de placer cette manifestation sous le patronage de hautes personnalités du pays venues de tous les horizons politiques.

Au plaisir d'avoir de vos nouvelles et avec nos remerciements réitérés, nous vous prions de croire, Chers Amis, à nos sentiments les meilleurs.

R Holender
R. HOLENDER
Secrétaire Générale

M. Cosyns
M. COSYNS
Président

2F BELGIË BELGIQUE

2F BELGIË BELGIQUE

M. le Professeur W. E. Dubois
23 W - 26 th. Street
New-York N.Y.

U.S.A.

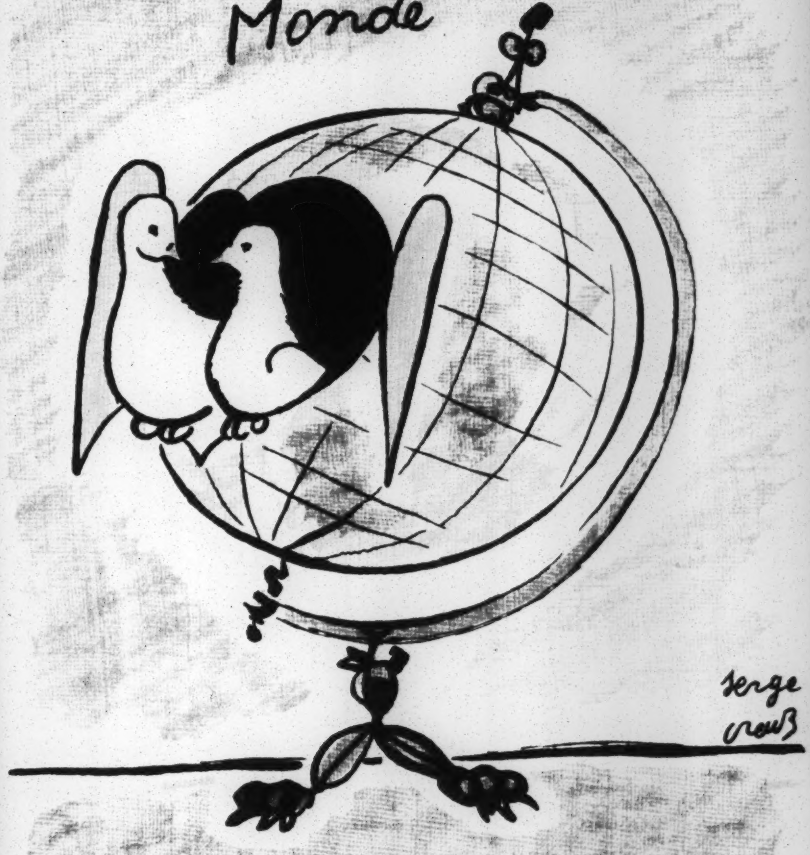
41|19A-C|5

L'Union Belge pour la Défense de la Paix vous adresse ses meilleurs voeux pour que l'année 1956 soit celle de la détente internationale, du désarmement et de l'amitié entre tous les peuples du monde.

41|19 A-C|4

U. B. D. P.
17, rue Watteeu
BRUXELLES

La Paix au coeur du Monde



meilleurs voeux 1956

41-19E-16

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(39)

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

1955 FEB 19 AM 9 40

NBA059 32 INTL PD VIA BD=N PRAHA VIA RCA 19 0920=

WEB DU BOIS=

31 GRACE COURT BROOKLYN 2 NEWYORK USA=

HAPPY BIRTHDAY AND FULL SUCCESS IN YOUR CREATIVE WORK FOR PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP AMONG NATIONS UNION OF TSCHECHOSLOWAK WRITERS DRDA HECKO SEKERA=

[Union of Czechoslovak Writers]

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

November 2, 1955

His Excellency,
Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Washington, D.C.

Esteemed Friend,

Many thanks for your kind invitation to celebrate with you the Thirty-eighth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

My husband regrets that we are unable to come to Washington but we shall gather here with friends and drink a toast to the day which saw the founding of a great nation by courageous and aspiring peoples.

Our fondest hope is for the Good-Will, Peace and Prosperity in which we can together achieve the highest hopes of all Mankind.

Congratulations and warm good wishes.

Sincerely,

(Mrs. W.E.B. Du Bois)

[U.S. - Bureau of Census]

March 28, 1955

The Census Regional Office
251 West 42 Street
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

I want to find out if possible how much the United States Government has given or loaned the Government of Haiti under Point Four.

27-18-52

Will you kindly let me know how to secure such data?

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

December 28, 1955

U. S. Department of Commerce
New York Field Office
110 East 45 Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Enclosed please find my check for $8.45, for which please send me the following publications on "Population, General Characteristics, Series P B Bulletins."

United States Summary, $1.00.
Alabama, 55¢.
Arkansas, 55¢.
Delaware, 30¢.
D. C., 25¢.
Florida, 60¢.
Illinois, 70¢.
Maryland, 40¢.
Missouri, 60¢.
New Jersey, 55¢.
New York, 65¢.
North Carolina, 65¢.
Pennsylvania, $1.00.
Virginia, 65¢.

Total: $8.45.

Please deliver at my office at your earliest convenience, 23 West 26 Street, 4th floor.

Sincerely,

W. E. B. Du Bois

DIRECTOR

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
BUREAU OF PRISONS
WASHINGTON 25

December 14, 1955

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th St.
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

In your letter of December 7, you inquire concerning the action taken by this office in connection with the impounding of Social Security checks addressed to Alexander Bittleman, an inmate of the United States Penitentiary, Atlanta, Ga.

In reply to your request that the funds be released to Mr. Bittleman, I must advise that a number of legal questions are under consideration concerning this matter and no action can be taken until these have been resolved.

Sincerely,

JV Bennett

JAMES V. BENNETT
Director

27-10-117

[U.S. - DEPT. OF STATE)

P

June 8, 1955

Miss Frances G. Knight, Chief
Passport Division
Department of State
Washington 25, D.C.

Re: F-130 -- Du Bois, William Edward

Dear Miss Knight:

41-18-237

Incompliance with Mrs. Shipley's letter to me of February 7, 1951, I write to say that I do now need a valid passport for travel.

The World Federation of Democratic Youth has invited me to the World Youth Festival being held in Poland the second week in July. The Polish government has been good enough to agree with this invitation. I have been a teacher for more than sixty years. Now I am eighty-seven and it seems that these students from many lands regard me with some affection.

I wish very much to attend this gathering accompanied by my wife. We filed applications for passports here in New York yesterday (June 7th). I write you directly since our passports are in your files and Mrs. Shipley instructed this procedure.

My physician has advised that while in Europe I spend some time in a saniterium near the warm baths of Carlsbad. We want to leave by Air France, July 5th.

Yours very truly,

W.E.B. Du Bois

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

[U.S. -Dept. of State]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
F130-Du Bois, William Edward Burghardt

JUL 1 1955

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn, New York.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

The Department has received your application for a passport to enable you to proceed to Poland to attend the fifth International Youth Congress at Warsaw, Poland.

I regret to inform you that after careful consideration of your application for passport facilities, the Department of State is obliged to disapprove your request tentatively on the ground that the granting of such passport facilities is precluded under the provisions of Section 51.135 of Title 22 of the Code of Federal Regulations. A copy of the pertinent Regulations is enclosed for your information.

27-178-43

In cases coming within the purview of the Regulations above referred to, it is the practice of the Department to inform the applicant of the reasons for the disapproval of his request for passport facilities insofar as the security regulations will permit. In your case the Department has concluded that your case falls within the scope of Sections (a) and (c) of the aforementioned Regulations since it is alleged that you are a Communist and as the Congress which you wish to attend is Communist inspired.

Under Section 51.137 of the Regulations you may present your case and all relevant information informally to the Passport Office. If you desire to take advantage of this provision you may appear before a hearing officer of the Passport Office and you may be represented by counsel. In such case, you will be required to submit a sworn statement as to whether you are now or ever have been a Communist.

If you do not desire a hearing, the Department will give consideration to any written statement under oath which you may desire to submit concerning the matter, provided that

you include

you include therein a statement as to whether you are now or ever have been a Communist.

You are assured that any information or evidence which you may supply will receive most careful consideration and that every effort will be made to act upon your application promptly and justly. The Department desires to emphasize that the passport records are confidential Government records and any information which you may submit or which may be received from other sources in connection with your application will not be made known to the public or to any unauthorized person unless you release it. The Department reserves the right to disclose factual information to supplement or correct any statement which a passport applicant may release for publication concerning the reasons why he was denied a passport or the Department's action in his case.

If a reply to this letter is not received within thirty days, it will be assumed that you do not wish to have your case reconsidered at this time.

Sincerely yours,

For the Secretary of State:

Frances G. Knight
Frances G. Knight
Director, Passport Office

Enclosure:
Supplement to Passport Regulations

27-178-44

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

[U.S. - Dept. of State]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
F130-Du Bois, Lola Graham

JUL 1 1955

Mrs. Lola Graham Du Bois,
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn 2, New York.

Dear Mrs. Du Bois:

The Department has received your application for a passport to enable you to accompany your husband to Poland where he plans to attend the fifth International Youth Congress.

41-10D-6

I regret to inform you that after careful consideration of your application for passport facilities, the Department of State is obliged to disapprove your request tentatively on the ground that the granting of such passport facilities is precluded under the provisions of Section 51.135 of Title 22 of the Code of Federal Regulations. A copy of the pertinent Regulations is enclosed for your information.

In cases coming within the purview of the Regulations above referred to, it is the practice of the Department to inform the applicant of the reasons for the disapproval of his request for passport facilities insofar as the security regulations will permit. In your case the Department has concluded that your case falls within the scope of Sections (a) and (c) of the aforementioned Regulations since it is alleged that you are a Communist and as the Congress which you wish to attend is Communist inspired.

Under Section 51.137 of the Regulations you may present your case and all relevant information informally to the Passport Office. If you desire to take advantage of this provision you may appear before a hearing officer of the Passport Office and you may be represented by counsel. In such case, you will be required to submit a sworn statement as to whether you are now or ever have been a Communist.

If you do not desire a hearing, the Department will give consideration to any written statement under oath which you may desire to submit concerning the matter, provided that

you include

you include therein a statement as to whether you are now or ever have been a Communist.

You are assured that any information or evidence which you may supply will receive most careful consideration and that every effort will be made to act upon your application promptly and justly. The Department desires to emphasize that the passport records are confidential Government records and any information which you may submit or which may be received from other sources in connection with your application will not be made known to the public or to any unauthorized person unless you release it. The Department reserves the right to disclose factual information to supplement or correct any statement which a passport applicant may release for publication concerning the reasons why he was denied a passport or the Department's action in his case.

If a reply to this letter is not received within thirty days, it will be assumed that you do not wish to have your case reconsidered at this time.

41-10D-7

Sincerely yours,

For the Secretary of State:

Frances G. Knight

Frances G. Knight
Director, Passport Office

Enclosure:
Supplement to Passport Regulations

[U.S. - Dept of State]

W.E.B. Du BOIS

Ph. D., Harvard; Fellow American Association
Advancement of Science; Member National Institute
of Arts & Letters; Knight Commander Liberian
Order Redemption of Africa; World Peace
Prizeman, 1952
(Who's Who, Who's Who in America, International Who's Who)

31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York
July 13, 1955

Mrs. Frances G. Knight, Director
Passport Office
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Re: F-130- Du Bois, William E.B.

Dear Madame:

I have your letter of July 1, 1955 refusing at present to issue me and my wife passports for travel abroad and in particular for attending as guest of honor the World Festival of Youth to be held at Warsaw, July 31 to August 14, 1955. I enclose a copy of this invitation.

I regard the reasons which you give as both illegal and personally insulting. For sixty years I have held passports from the United States, beginning with Passport No. 42015, issued June 24, 1892 by the Acting Secretary of State, William F. Wharton. With these passports I have made thirteen trips to Europe, and visits to Asia, Africa and the West Indies. During this time I have never been accused of crime and have received recognition of many kinds including the rank of United States Special Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the Republic of Liberia.

My continued and continuing advocacy of world peace once brought the demand that I register as a Foreign Agent. I refused, was indicted and acquitted by a Federal Court.

The regulations of your department which you adduce are not statute law, but represent the effort of the State Department to arrogate to itself the judicial right to inquire into and judge my political beliefs and opinions. This is an unconstitutional assumption of power. As a free American citizen, I maintain that it is none of your business what I believe or think so long as I transgress no law. Nor will I be intimidated by secret "allegations" of unnamed informers which have no status in law.

I therefore absolutely refuse to sign or submit to you or anyone else any affidavit concerning my beliefs nor have you any right to decide what lawful assemblies I shall attend or whose voices I shall listen to.

I therefore repeat my demand for a passport, in accord with the Constitution of the United States, the laws of the land and the decision of the courts. Further refusal will confirm my conclusion that you are resting your hope for continued illegal procedures on the cost of litigation which you assume only the rich can afford.

Yours very truly,

W.E.B. Du Bois

27-13-10

[U.S. - Dept of State]

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
F130-DuBois, William

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

The receipt is acknowledged of your letter of July 13, 1955 in regard to your passport case. The matter is being given careful consideration and you will be advised as soon as a decision is reached.

Sincerely yours,

Frances G. Knight

Frances G. Knight,
Director, Passport Office

27-178-45

27-17A-71

3I Grace court, Brooklyn I, N.Y.

[U.S. - Dept of State]

September 8, I955

Miss Frances G. Knight

Dear Madame:

Referring to your letter without date, F-I30- DuBois, William, may I say that in my application for a passport, June 7, I955, I asked to attend the World Festival of Youth in Warsaw, July 3I to August I4, I955; and also to visit Czechoslovakia and other countries for reasons of health and recreation.

You have delayed decision on my passport until the World Festival with 30,000 youth from II4 nations is over. This was I assume deliberate on your part. Nevertheless, I write to say that my application for a passport still stands and I wish to repeat my application to visit Poland, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Germany, France and England for health and recreation. My wife wishes to accompany me. In accord with your letter of mid-July without date, may I ask for a decision in my case as soon as possible

Very sincerely

W. E. B. Du Bois

BERKSHIRE

[U.S. - Dept. of State]

September I955

Miss Frances G. Knight

Dear Madame:

Referring to your letter of

may I say that in my application for a passport, June 7, I955 I asked to attend the world Festival of Youth in Warsaw, July 3I to August I4, I955; and also to visit Czechoslovakia and other countries for reasons of health and recreation.

You have delayed decision on my passport until the World Festival with 30,000 youth from II4 nations is over This was I assume deliberate on your part. Nevertheless, I write to say that my application for a passport still stands and I wish to repeat my application to visit Poland, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Germany, France and England for health and recreation. My wife wishes to accompany me. In accord with your letter of mid-July, without date, may I ask for a decision in my case as soon as possible.

Very sincerely,

27-1342

EATON'S
CORRASABLE
BOND

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

[U.S. - Dept. of State]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
F130-DuBois, William E. B.

OCT 6 - 1955

Dear Mr. DuBois:

With reference to your letter of September 22, 1955 regarding your pending passport application you are informed that your file has been sent to another office of the Department for evaluation. Upon the completion of the evaluation you will be advised of the Department's decision.

Sincerely,

Frances G. Knight
Frances G. Knight
Director, Passport Office

27-178-46

Mr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois,
Thirty-one Grace Court,
Brooklyn 2, New York.

[U.S. - Dept. of State]

November 4, 1955

Miss Frances G. Knight,

Dear Madame:

Almost exactly a month ago (October 6, 1955 F130-Du Bois, William E.B.) you informed me that my application and that of my wife, Shirley Graham Du Bois made June 7, 1955 was in process of evaluation "by another office of the Department. " I have heard nothing since. May I inquire when to expect a decision or if I must take steps in another direction.

Very sincerely,

W.E.B.Du Bois

27-178-47

[U.S. - Dept. of State]

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

NOV 25 1955

In reply refer to
F130-DuBois, W.E. Burghardt

Dear Mr. DuBois:

With reference to your letter of November 4, 1955 regarding your pending passport application you are informed that this Office has not yet received the evaluation of your case referred to in my previous letter to you. I am unable to advise you when a decision will be reached.

Sincerely,

Frances G. Knight
Frances G. Knight
Director, Passport Office

27-178-48

Mr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn 2, New York.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
Public Services
Division

41/17/103

After consideration at the White House, your communication has been sent to the Department of State so that we might also see your comments. We have informed other interested offices of the Department of your views and believe you will find the enclosed material of interest.

Maurice S. Rice
Chief
Public Services Division

42/1A/2

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
NEW YORK 13, N. Y.

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, $300
(GPO)

[U.S. - SOCIAL SECURITY
ADMIN)

You may mail this card
without postage
OR
you may put it in an
envelope, seal, address,
and mail with the
required postage

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance
NEW YORK 13, N. Y.

AREA OFFICE

Form OA-C 611a
(9-54)

CLAIMANT'S REPORT TO SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

FILL IN ONLY THE ITEM BEING REPORTED (Be sure to sign your name and address)

PRINT NAME OF CLAIMANT ABOUT WHOM YOU ARE REPORTING

GIVE CLAIM NUMBER

1. REPORT HERE CHANGE OF ADDRESS. (Fill in new address at bottom.) Check if change is for:

☐ more than six months ☐ 6 months or less

Names of other claimants affected by change of address:

2. REPORT HERE IF WORKING IN THE UNITED STATES and expect total earnings for the taxable year to exceed $1,200. I worked as an employee for more than $80 a month or rendered substantial services in self-employment

beginning with the month of , 19 .

3. REPORT HERE IF WORKING OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES. I worked on 7 or more calendar days a month beginning with the

month of , 19 .

4. IF CLAIMANT MARRIES, fill in date of marriage and new name:
(Date) (New name)

5. IF CLAIMANT DIED, show date of death:

6. IF INSURED INDIVIDUAL AND SPOUSE DIVORCED, show date of divorce:

7. IF CHILD OR OTHER CLAIMANT NOT IN YOUR CARE, show month such person left your care:

8. IF CHILD IS LEGALLY ADOPTED, give date of adoption:

Check box showing relationship, if any, of adopting parent to child: ☐ Stepparent ☐ Grandparent ☐ Aunt ☐ Uncle ☐ Other

SIGNATURE of person making this report

Date signed

P. O. Box or street City Zone No. County State

[VEB Bibliographical Institute]

VEB BIBLIOGRAPHISCHES INSTITUT

B

VERWALTUNG VOLKSEIGENER VERLAGE

Mr. William E.B. Dubois
Writer
31 Grace Court
Brooklin 2, NewYork
N.Y.
(USA)

VEB Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig O 5, Postfach 68

LEIPZIG O 5, EILENBURGER STRASSE 55

Ihr Zeichen	Ihre Nachricht vom	Unser Zeichen	Tag
		34	5.7.55.

Betrifft: Zweibändiges Lexikon

42-1A-63

Dear Sir,

We thank you very much for the corrections concerning your own biography. You begged us to enclose the fact that you started the Pan-African Movement. According to our informations this movement began in 1912 with the African National Congress. In "Who's who" we read about your participation in it that you are the founder of Pan-African Congresses. Was theAfrican National Congress in 1912 the first of these congresses ?

We should be very much obliged to you if you would tell us something about the latest development of the Pan-African Movement, as our informations on this subject are very scarce. Besides, we want to describe the struggle of Coloured People for freedom and justice in the right way, and would, therefore, add a few lines on the Pan-African Movement in our encyclopedia.

You begged us to state that you wrote 15 vols. on Negro and Africa. But, as it seems to us, we should rather give two or three titles of the works you consider most characteristic of your ideas. For in our encyclopedia we may only give our readers some hints on a personality or a catchword, but we want to help them, too, to go on informing themselves on a subject. The best way to do this is to give some titles of books. Would you be so kind as to inform us which books you like to be mentioned?

Thanking you in anticipation for your kind answer we are, Dear Sir,

Yours respectfully
VEB BIBLIOGRAPHISCHES INSTITUT

Dr Wahrig Ludwig
(Dr. Wahrig) (Ludwig)

III/18/203 Lp 12887/54 6000

[V.E.B. Bibliographical Inst.]

VEB BIBLIOGRAPHISCHES INSTITUT

B

Verwaltung Volkseigener Verlage

27-13-17

Mr.

W. E. Burghardt DU Bois

Thirty-one Grace Court

Brooklyn, 2, N.Y.

U.S.A.

VEB Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig O 5, Postfach 68

LEIPZIG O 5
Eilenburger Straße 55

Ihr Zeichen	Ihre Nachricht vom	Unser Zeichen	Tag
Betrifft:	July 21th	34/Ky	15/8/55

Dear Sir!

We received your letter of July 21th, and thank you very much for the first rate material you sent us. It will help to further improve the entries in our encyclopedias.

Hoping that the ideas of peace and friendship of people will gain more ground we are

Yours faithfully

VEB BIBLIOGRAPHISCHES INSTITUT

Dr Wahrig

Fernsprecher:
Sammel-Nr. 67841

Drahtwort:
Biblio Leipzig

Postscheck:
Leipzig 83814

Deutsche Notenbank Leipzig
Konto-Nr. 1873 · Kenn-Nr. 113000

III/18/203 Lp 26084/54 10000 1054

[1955]

Antonio Vieux
POB. 3022.
Port au Prince
Haiti

Gilberte Vieux
c/o A.V.

Casimon

[1955]

Antonio Vieux
POB. 3022.
Port au Prince
Haïti

Gilberte Vieux
c/o A.V.

Casimon

42-1A-22

April 18, 1955

M. Antonio Vieux
P.O. Box 3022
Port-au-Prince

Dear Mr. Vieux:

I hope you do not think from our long silence that we have forgotten our trip to Haiti and all that you did to make our stay delightful.

Our trip home was uneventful, but the weather ever since we have been here, except one day, has been simply atrocious. We often commiserate and ask why on earth we left the paradise of Haiti.

I am venturing to enclose a family tree with dates showing my descent from the white French Du Boises back in 1660 and the Negro Burghardts in 1730 down to today. You will note that my grandfather Du Bois was born in 1803 and, as I said, he made a trip to Haiti in 1829, undoubtedly with the idea of settling. While he was there he met Baron Denis and was taken to St. Mark in a government boat.

While in Haiti I think he must have married or formed an alliance, and that my father was born there. But soon after my grandfather returned to the United States, where he married again and had two other children, both daughters.

When they were grown and the Civil War approached he again (alone) went to Haiti, either with the idea of recovering property there or in the Bahamas, or possibly with the thought again of settling. But again he gave up any such idea and quickly returned to the United States, where he lived until his death about 1893.

Connected with him in some way that I do not know was Prince Saunders, who came from New Haven and settled at least temporarily in Haiti. He must have been about the age of my father, but I do not know much more.

Anything that you can do to throw light upon my family will be appreciated.

Again, we want to thank you for the effort which you made, and Mrs. Du Bois especially is under obligations to your sister. Please greet all of our friends.

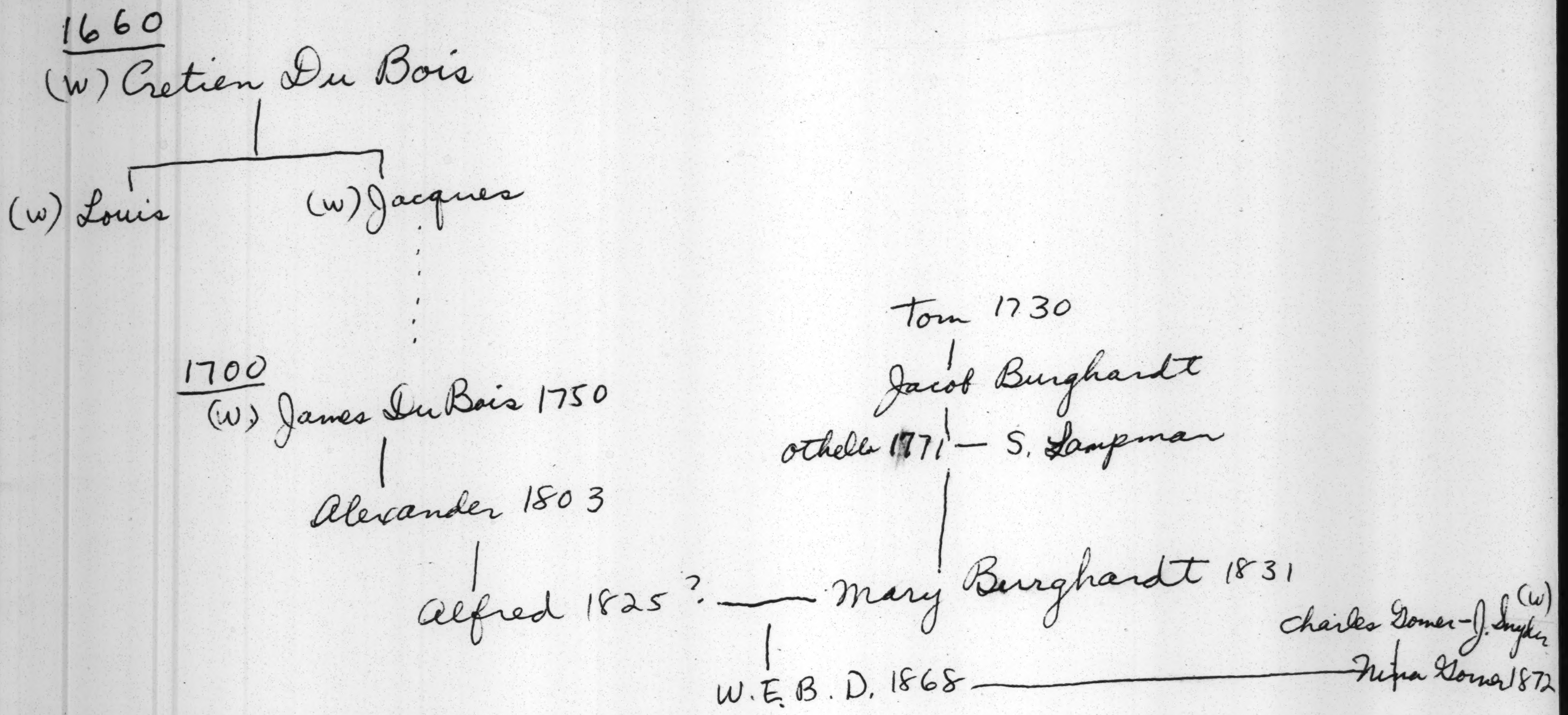
Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

over >

P.S. In December, 1954, at your suggestion we sent a check of $20 to Mme. Magloire for hurricane relief. The check was never acknowledged and never cashed. I have just ordered its payment cancelled.


1660
(w) Cretien Du Bois
(w) Louis
(w) Jacques
1700
(w) James Du Bois 1750
Alexander 1803
Alfred 1825?
Tom 1730
Jacob Burghardt
othello 1771 — S. Lampman
Mary Burghardt 1831
W.E.B.D. 1868
Charles Gomer — J. Snyder (w)
Nina Gomer 1872

42-11A-23

[Voks]

42-1A-28

ИЗОГИЗ

ОТКРЫТОЕ ПИСЬМО

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Our best wishes of good health and a happy New Year.

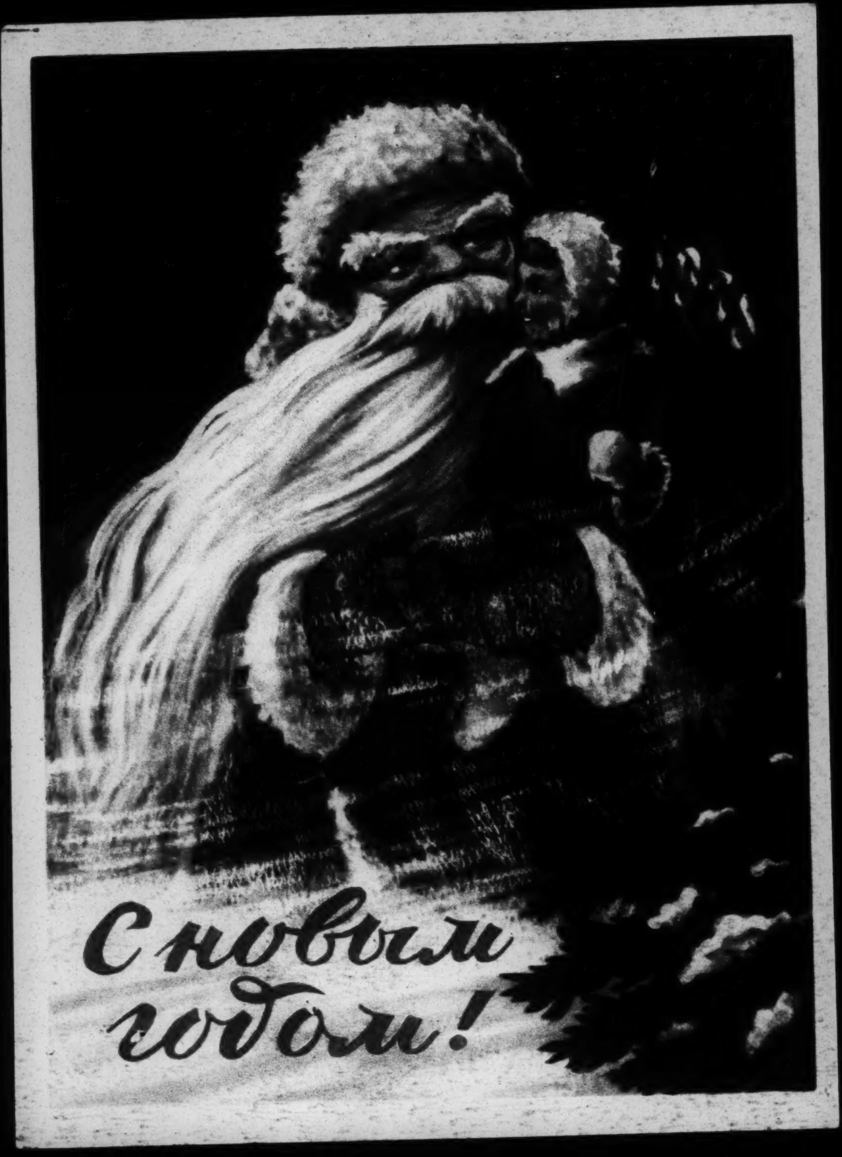
K. Cheguinov.
American Section.
Voks.

Куда New York, N.Y.

Кому Dr. E.W.B. Du Bois

Худ. Б. Аржекаев

Ред. Т. Ющенко. III-04933. Изд. № 5282. Тир. 500000. Цена 20 коп. Лен. ф-ка офс. печ. Зак. 2089.


С новым годом!

[Voks]

January 26, 1955

42-1A-27

The American Section
Voks
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Gentlemen:

May I thank you for your Christmas greetings, which we appreciate.

I remember with pleasure your hospitality during my last visit to the Soviet Union.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Moscow, March 31, 1955

Mr. William E.B. Du Bois
c/o Council on African Affairs
53 W.125 St.
New York 17. N.Y.
U.S.A.

42-1A-31

Sir:

We have been sending you VOKS Bulletin as a gift. Please inform us whether you wish your subscription to be continued.

Sincerely yours,

K. Chugunov

K.Chugunov
Chief, American Section
VOKS

[Voks]

Moscow, April 19, 1955

Mr. William E.B.Du Bois
c/o Council on African Affairs
53 West 125th Street
New York 27, N.Y.
U.S.A.

42-1A-29

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

We have been sending you as a gift the following periodicals:

New Times
News
Soviet Union

Please inform us whether you receive them and wish your subscription to be continued.

R. Chugunov
American Section
VOKS

[Voks]

April 27, 1955

Mr. K. Chugunov, Chief
American Section
VOKS
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

42-1A:32

My dear Mr. Chugunov:

For several months after my visit in Moscow in 1950 where I was so graciously entertained by VOKS I received a copy of your publication. Then it stopped coming, and I have seen no copy for the last three years.

I presume that the publication has been held up by the Post Office Department of the United States government.

I would be very glad, however, if you would start sending VOKS to me again, addressing it to my wife:

Shirley Graham
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York
U.S.A.

I would appreciate news from the Soviet Union.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[Voks]

Moscow, May, 13 1955

Mr. William E.B.Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.
U.S.A.

42-1A-62

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

We regret very much to learn that VOKS Bulletin has not been reaching you all these years.

From now on the magazine will be sent to the address you mentioned in your letter of April 27,1955.

The other periodicals -- New Times, News, The Soviet Union to which you have been subscribed for some years, will also be sent to the new address.

Please inform us whether these materials will reach you then.

Sincerely yours,

K. Chugunov

K.Chugunov
Chief, American Section
VOKS

Tr 5 - 1000
Long Island
O Bryant -

Miss Buckley
1 Mu 9 - 1,000
Blood credit

[Voks]

May 31, 1955

42-1A-30

Mr. K. Chugunov
American Section
VOKS
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

My dear Sir:

I have your letter of April 19 where you say that you have been sending me as a gift the NEW TIMES, NEWS, and SOVIET UNION.

I regret to say that I received the NEW TIMES for a few issues and then for most of the last year I have not seen a single copy. I have never seen the NEWS or SOVIET UNION.

All three of these I should like very much to have regularly, and I would like very much if you would keep my name on your subscription list, but change the address from my office to my residence. It is possible that there my mail will not be so often tampered with:

31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

I thank you for your interest.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

copy
to Tass

[Voks]

42-1A-64

Moscow, June 18, 1955

Mr. William E.B. Du Bois,
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

USA

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

We have put your new address on mailing list, the one you mention in your letter of May 31, 1955.

Please let us know when and if you receive our periodicals.

Sincerely yours, K. Chugunov

K. Chugunov

Chief, American Section
VOKS

[von Leers]

Dr. von Leers
Martin Haedo 863
VICENTE LOPEZ, FCNGBM
Prov. de Buenos Aires
March 10th, 1955

Dear Sir,

As I already wrote to you, I am very impressioned by the interesting book by Prof.W.E.Burghardt Dubois- it is for the first time I read a history of Africa written by Africans.It is indeed very interesting, especially for an old historian as myself.Does Prof.Du Bois yet live and have you by chance his address?-

Your long letter I read with vivid interest- I understand well how much you feel embittered for your people, how much you suffer in your soul. But I think you should see to make you a little more free from this bitter feeling. I see from the newspapers and revues you kindly sent me how much the black race is advancing, how great and quick the progress is they are making.So the position of people who wish to discriminate against Negroes becomes more and more hopeless, as well in USA as in Africa. Freedom and equality of rights are on the march and can't be made impossible. So I am sure there will grow up in the coming decades some independent Negro states in Africa , whereever Negro people are a majority and even in USA there will be practically more and more equal position.I know, that goes slowly- but the general trend is not to be denied.If Negro people will develop more men like Prof.Burghardt DuBois and so demonstrate that Negro people are not intellectually inferior to the white man, I am sure that discrimination against Negroes will dwindle away.

42-1A-33

From the German point of view, I can wish the Negro people all good on their way. We were a colonial people only a short time-we were in Africa the last to come and the first to go.I think , we have done good in Togo and Kamerun, where we abolished the great sleep sickness, and also in East Africa,where we abolished slave trade that eternal scourge of the Negro race and had little trouble (although our old East Africa ci now Kenya, is inhabited by warrior tribes who are first class fighting men).In the first world war the Negro"askaris" in East Africa under our general von Lettow-Vorbeck were wonderful soldiers, faitfull and ~~brace~~ brave until the bitter end.Only in Southwest- Africa we had bad fortune and it came to the historical clash with the Herero nation, not least because jewish merchants made usure against them and the British stirred up the younger chieftains, gave them arms and pushed them against the Germans-much against the will of the old First Chieftain Samuel Maharero, who wished to avoid a clash. The German governor of that time was more a good soldier than a man of psychology and understanding. Generally I think we did more good than harm to Africa.

Today, even if we could make us free from foreign rule and reconstruct our Empire as in the time of Bismarck, we should not return more to Africa. Time of colonialism is over.

I think you too should not only think in terms of bitterness and hatred against the Anglosaxons and even against the Jews. Whatever Anglosaxons have done and do to the Negro race- there are others too, doctors, engineers, teachers who stand for justice and good relations.

As to the Jews- I am an old enemy of them, but only because they undermined Germany in the first World War, made themselves rulers of my country in 1919 and again in 1945, because they want to rule the other nations and make themselves masters of other races. Because I stand for freedom and equal rights, for honesty and selfdetermination, I am against the Jews. If the Jews would live without pretentions and privileges- I should do them no harm.-

This Argentine here is a fine land- I send you some publications by shipmail about Peronism and its honest work. I think you will like them.-

With the best wishes and many thanks

Yours faithfully

J. von Leers

[von Leers]

May 31, 1955

Dr. von Leers
Martin Haedo 863
Vicente Lopez, FCNGBM
Prov. de Buenos Aires
Argentina.

My dear Dr. von Leers:

42-1A-36

I have heard of you indirectly through an African student living in Denver, Colorado. I believe he sent you my book, THE WORLD AND AFRICA.

I am venturing to add to that by sending you two books, COLOR AND DEMOCRACY, published in 1945 and IN BATTLE FOR PEACE, published in 1952. I hope you will receive them safely and find some interest in reading them.

I was a student in Germany from 1892-4 at the University of Berlin, studying under Schmoller, Wagner and others. I spent three semesters there, travelling in many parts of Germany, and learned to have great respect and affection for the German people.

Since then I have returned to Germany twice: once in 1928 and once in 1936, and have seen the disaster and destruction that has overcome that great country.

I know also something of the fighting that Africans did for both the Allies and the Germans in Africa during the First World War. I tried once to get a scholarship in order to study in 1936 the effect of German colonialism on the natives, but was not able to accomplish this.

I do not agree with you with regard to the Jews, and hope you may live to change your opinions.

I have great interest in Argentina but it is difficult in the United States to get any reliable reports.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Dr. von Leers

Martin Haedo 863
VICENTE LOPEZ,FCNGBM
Prov. de Buenos Aires

June 8th, 1955

[von Leers]

Prof.W.E.B.du Bois
23 West 26th Street.
New York 10, N.Y.

42-17-65

Dear Sir,

with great pleasure I received your kind letter of Mai 31rst which gives me your adress and so the possibily to thank you for the very interesting hours of lecture which your fine and spirited book THE WORLD AND AFRICA gave me.It is for the first time that I find a history of Africa written by an African , who clearly exposes the achievements of his race , which have been often forgotten in usual historical handbooks.It is indeed a very interesting book, and I think I shall write about it and the two other books you kindly sent me-I think they will come in the next weeks some articles for German reviews.

As to German colonialism and its effects on the African peoples ,I think that German colonialism has been no more but an historical episode. The best pages of it are in Togo and Cameroon, which were well administrated, the natives well protected against deseases and famine and practically no upheavals took place , but the people was led to a sound economical and hygienical progress.In German East Africa there has been a liberation of the Negro tribes from the menace of the slavetraders,internal wars have been stopped and in the "Askari"-Army a wonderful comradeship of African and Germans has been developed, although there were some difficulties and at last one greater sedition of the southern tribes as a consequence of economical difficulties.Generally East -Africa (Tanganyika) has been a good colony for both parts.The worst pages are in Southwestafrica, were the Germans coming from the coast and the very gifted Bantu-Tribe of the Hereros coming from the Interior clashed and the Hereros had heavy losses; they were cheated by German traders(many jews) and instigated by the British, who gave them weapons and drove them into the war against the Germans. So the Hottentots- a special race- were driven by religious zealots into a war , which they lost too.Practically these fightings were a disaster in the development of the country.But even then after the war the German Government did its best to restore the situation of the tribes.Practically seen the German colonial administration in all these African colonies came last and went first, began its work without great experience, but also without prejudices. If the British had "an iron hand in a velvet glove", the Germans had more "a soft hand in an iron glove"; their rule was sometimes harsher than the British rule, but the Germans did more for the protection and fostering of the natives. According to their aristocratic tendencies they developed a sort of leading native class, giving more power to the chieftains, strengthening the power of the Watussi -Kings in Ruanda and creating whole a new leading class by the non-coms(Tschausch and Basch- Tschausch- Turkish names they used for sargeants and colour-sargeants of their Askari-Army),all Africans to whom they gave positions in the local administration , when their time of service was over. Specially in East-Africa they created a sentiment of true comradeship of all those, who "wore the Kaiser's coat", if they were Germans or Africans. Although there were German Christian missionaries, German administration was openly in favour of Islam. No African became a colour-sargeant in the Askari Army who was not a steadfast Moslem, and also in Cameroon the Germans never forgot to give power and dignities to the Moslem Amirs of the North. The Germans were convinced that Islam makes good soldiers and reliable men- and that a Moslim does not drink alcohol and therefore can be used for positions of confidence. An uncle of mine who was for a long time officer in the Askari Army told me, when I was a boy:"You must know that Islam is the best religion for soldiers. By disgrace of history we Germans have not got it and now cannot change the situation. But in Africa a negro converted to Christian religion becomes often the ape of the European , imitating him in his worst aspects - but Islam makes him a noble African with a feeling of his own dignity. As an officer I like better a noble African on my side in the battle than an ape of mine." Maybe not always in this extreme way, that has been the conviction of many old colonial officers. They did not wish to make the African a slave or a creeper , but a comrade to fight at their side.

Today these colonial days are over. Even if there would be an occasion to get some African colonies back, the German people would not accept them . We feel that the African peoples are ripe or becoming ripe and that colonial rule is outdated. And besides that we are a colony ourselves now: Eastern Germany is a colony of Russia today, Western Germany with her mock-souveraignty (foreign troops in the whole country, our boys forced to bear the uniform of USA in a little changed form, all telephones tapped, the so called government without the right to treat the most burning ~~power~~ problem of ours, the reunification of our land, Austria and Saar with 7 and one million German people stolen)

42-14-67

is a colony too, a colony of the USA,England,France - and more of all of Israel. We are an enslaved people and so our sympathies- at least the sympathies of the patriots are with the peoples revolting against imperialism and colonialism.If I had had the money and the possibilities to go to Bandoen I should have gone to there to the conference of the Asiatic and African nations to plead for the case of our nation.For us , the Germans, the unity of the white nations has been destroyed - we are a nation made unfree und enslaved and should go with those in the world who fight for freedom against the masters of the globe- may they be communists or democrates.-
The problem of the Jews is a part of that all.In the happy times of the Kaisers the Jews were fully accepted in Germany,they were the richest minority they had a great influence in economy, banking, law,and even a growing influence in the Administration.Most of the great newspapers were in their hand There was practically no "antisemitism" of any importance.But the Jews, instea of being thankful to the German nation and to our beloved Imperial House, organized the Marxian movement of Socialdemocracy,preached abolition of the monarchy we loved and introduction of a democratic republic of their own. When in 1918 Germany collapsed , they succeeded to force upon us their Weimar-Republic, a state so completely under jewish influence that our people felt as godforsaken in its own country.In the hours of deepest despair, when our nation mourned the lost provinces, the lost glory,the loss of the Empire, all we had been taught to like and to stand for, the jews triumphantly praised their"democracy", the rule of some parliamentary bosses in their services. I was then a boy of 17 years, and I can remember as if it had been yesterday, how bitter I felt when I read the triumph of the jewish newspapers, their sneer on our downbroken army, their boasting of their achievements how they had brought defeat and revolution on Germany to introduce their democracy. Their definition of "democracy" has always been:"Rule without the people, against the people-but for the people of Israel.".Since that time I have foug them and their democracy- I marched with the "Freikorps " in Upper-Silesia in 1921 , in the Kapp-Putsch, I stood with Hitler, when he made us free from the jewish yoke.-From the moment when Hitler came into power and the Jews emigrated , they did their best to bring war on Germany, to force Germany down and to bring our country again under their heels.The mobilized all forces the could find in the world- and in 1945 they were again masters

42-1A-66

of downtrodden, destroyed Germany. After the last fightings in Thuringia I myself into the hands of the American Army. I have been in the horrible starvation camps of Ohrdruf and Schwarzenborn, most run by jews; the 13th december of 1946 I managed to flee from the concentration camp of Darmstand, fell into the hands of the Russians, escaped again and after~~x~~ years of living undergroun I could reach this wonderful Argentina~~x~~ and save my wife and my daughter from the hell in the subjugated country. Germany is again under the heels of jewis colonialism, the leading posts behind the screens are in the hands of jews, while millions of refugees live in poverty, the Jews and even the state of Israel get enormous sums of "reparations" and every word of protest against jewish rule is punished as "antisemitism". The fighting of our people for freedom from the Jews is misrepresented as racial persecutions and the gullible international press is filled with a completely unilateral description of the whole history.-I personally am prepared to admire the high intelligence of the jewish people, their great efforts in constructing their state of Israel, their spirit of sacrifice and the energy by which they fight for their aims. But I dont want to be their slave nor to tolerate them as masters of my country and my nation.-I think there are many Africans too who admire the achievements and energy of the British, their heroism and their cunning- but dont want to be ~~x~~ their servants. Such Africans will understand me. My many Arab friends who have got a good impression of what jewish imperialism and colonialism means, understand me well.

I am very thankful that you allowed me to expose a little my own point of view- I dont think that I can convince you of all my feelings, but I should feel particularly happy , if a man like you who has done so much for the sake of his race and his people will understand me . We are all products of this "tornado century" we are born in und must do our best to stand for what we beli~~x~~eve to be good and our duty.

With the best wishes

very sincerely yours

Jr von Leers

42-14-68

Dr. von Leers

Martin Haedo 863
VICENTE LOPEZ,FCNGBM
Prov. de Buenos Aires

July 1rst, 1955

Mr. W.E.Burghardt DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10.N.Y.

Dear Sir,

yesterday arrived both your interesting books
" In Battle for Peace", and
"Color and Democracy"
and I shall study them attentively and publish an article in a friendly and understanding sense about them. I then shall send you the clipping.

Besides the fact that great catastrophes make a man understand better the position of those who are already longer time "in the mint" of destiny, I feel it of great interest to see once the world as seen by the eyes of another great race , but with all the richdom of knowledge, scientifical research and informations your books offer. So I thank you very much for it.

With the best wishes

Yours faithfully

J. von Leers

42-1A-96

[WARING]

919 Ridge Avenue,
Darby,
Pennsylvania.
October 5, 1955.

Ans. Oct 6, 55

Dr.W.E.B.DuBois
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn,
New York.

40-5c-9

My dear Sir:

Almost eight years have come and gone since the untimely death of my good friend, Mrs. Laura Wheeler Waring. The memory of this fine lady is one of my most cherished posessions. For this reason I have undertaken to pay special tribute to her during the year 1956.

A group of young people have agreed with me that something should be done to bring to the attention of the public the work and achievement of this gifted woman. To this end we have organized a little group for the purpose of staging a Memorial Exhibition during the month of February at the well appointed Logan Square Library in Philadelphia. Three articles dealing with her life and work are in preparation and a panel of speakers is being organized for lecturing to any group desiring to hear of Laura's work.

We wpuld like very much if you would consent to serve as an Honorary Adviser to our little group, tentatively named: THE LAURA WHEELER WARING MEMORIAL COMMITTIE OF PHILADELPHIA.

I hope that our brief plans sketched here will meet with your approval, a matter which is very important to us. Best wishes to you and your family.

Very sincerly,

Milton Morriss James

Milton Morriss James

40-5c-10

Mac Arthur 27-10-85

The Evening Star-The Sunday Star
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

February 3, 1955

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you for the letter to the Star. We appreciate your kindness in writing to us.

Yours sincerely,

The Editors

January 10, 1955

Mr. Aaron Weissman
673 Broadway
New York 12, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Weissman:

Here is a short article which you are at liberty to publish if you so wish.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Enc.

[Wilkox]

38 Dock Road, South Norwalk, Connecticut

April 2, 1955

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Care National Guardian

Dear Dr. DuBois;

We have been glad to hear that you were so well received in Haiti. It is certainly a tribute to the intelligence and discrimination of the Haitian government that they accord you proper recognition, - especially in view of the deal they gave Anita and me.

27-10-95

We are still wondering why we were deported, and hope that possibly you might find out for us. - We arrived in Haiti last February 7, objective, sightseeing - and sketching for Anita. Saturday February 12 "by instructions of the Government", we were put on the Miami plane by the chief of the Immigration Service, assisted by a police officer with a gun on his hip. There was no criticism of our very discrete behavior in Haiti, and our papers were in order; but if we insisted on waiting for the boat on Monday, the officials courteously explained, they would have to keep us in jail.

We were fascinated by Haiti. If we can get permission, we hope to return and complete our vacation, which was to have included Cap Haitian and Jacmel, and, I hoped, the Antibonite dam.

Len Boudin, who is trying to recover our passports which were lifted in 1952, made inquiries at the U. S. State Dept. They know nothing of the Haitian Incident.

We'll greatly appreciate any information or even conjecture you may care to offer.

Cordially,

Henry Willcox

P.S. - Nita adds, unless you find the case intriguing - don't bother about it — and of course, I agree.

a L. H

April 18, 1955

Mr. Henry Willcox
38 Dock Road
South Norwalk, Connecticut

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Willcox:

I received your letter of April 2nd just after returning from Haiti.

Of course I have no definite information but I am certain that this is what happened: The FBI recommended your deportation and the Haitians followed their orders. They would have done the same thing in my case except that I happen to be a Negro and fairly well known in Haiti. The present government on that account did not dare exclude me. This, I am sure, is the truth of what happened.

It was too bad. I know no country that needs more the information which you could have given them, especially about China, than this little island. It is now under the complete economic and spiritual domination of Americans, and it may not obtain its freedom before complete disaster.

Its program ought to be Socialism, and nothing else but Socialism can save it. It is always a punishment as well as a pleasure for me to go to West Indies and see these, among the most beautiful spots on earth, ruined by Greed.

Shirley and I send best regards to you and Mrs. Wilcox and Hope to see you some time.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-96

[Willcox]

Dock Road, South Norwalk, Connecticut

4.21

31-5-31

Dear Dr. DuBois

Thank you very much for your kindly (if disheartening) letter of the 18th. - We all know the FBI aims to give full value for US taxpayers' dollars.

Gita and I surely would like to "see you some time". We can still move around within the territorial limits

Cordially

Henry Willcox

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Sat. Dec. 10, 1955
65 University Place #440
New York City - 3

42-1A-54

Dear Grandpa,

I am not insistent about seeing you because of a self-indulgent whim or desire to pain you by my presence. I simply must tell you somehow that I realized, accepted and worked out the monstrous sin of which I am guilty. I don't ask your pity or praise for this accomplishment --- I want only your forgiveness for having left so terrible a scar so close to your heart that I dearly love and care for. Even now that your voice, I cherished to hear as a child, is silent and rejecting - it moves me still through many personal "Dusks of Dawns" and my eyes strain to "see the things you dream"; held up always by the memory of your hands, and your mind (surely born a bit too soon for those of us who are slow to appreciate.)

My sin is not yours and I would strive so greatly for your acceptance of me as a woman. I have been successful in minor ways. My record shows all A's from school, and I've just been made assistant supervisor in my section at work. More important, it seems that I'm worthy of friends — friends who love me dearly as I love them and who need me as I need them. Yesterday, I was referred to as the hub' of a wheel around which revolves some of the future's most outstanding personalities because I am so dynamic and understanding. My chest swells with pride but without you my heart is heavy. You don't know my ~~K~~new self, DuBois the woman and I no longer know you, the pride and joy of my youth. Somewhere between these tremulous posts of growth I did not learn a lesson in living with people, therefore at a crucial moment I made a tragic error. But it was not the end of your effort, grandma's labour or mother's love — they all remain in me the woman and I wish only that you will accept this humility and treatise as my penance and pleading for your mercy and forgiveness. That I should consider myself worthy of your feeling is in itself presumptuous but I know I can prove myself worthy of my name.

With all my love,
Du Bois W Shera

March 23, 1955

Mr. Sidney Williams
3032 S. Wabash Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

My dear Mr. Williams:

Your letter of March 11 reached my desk while I was out of the country on a vacation. I just had a chance to read it yesterday.

I see no reason why either PHYLON or the ATLANTIC should not be willing to publish an article on the thesis which you outline. The actual development of your thesis, however, is a little mixed up from the literary point of view. The thesis really begins, I believe, on the bottom of page three and goes over your experience in Europe and North Africa with colored peoples. It is only marred later by your bringing in, as it seems to me a bit illogically, references to the situation in the United States. Casual readers might not easily understand this.

Your definitions on pages nine, ten and eleven, might be stated in a more straightforward way, and I am especially sorry that you touch only a bit of the African continent and leave out entirely the great struggle in West Africa, East Africa, Central Africa, and particularly in South Africa.

Your main thesis is that the color problem in the United States is analagous to colonial problems. You have a chance to illustrate this by your own experience in North Africa, and then you can come to certain conclusions as to what is going to be done to answer the problems of a colonial system. But I am not quite sure that you meet this question fully.

I am I am afraid that perhaps my suggestions are not very helpful but I am sending them along for what they are.

I am also returning your manuscript, and thank you for letting me see it.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-94

May 6, 1955

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2417 N. Pulaski St.
Baltimore, 17, Md.

Dear Yolande:

I hope you are having better luck with the weather than we are but I suppose not. Shirley lays it all to the atom bomb. Just now the weather is quite lovely and our garden looks very well although there are no flowers.

This month and last I spoke at the mass meeting to welcome Hallinan, and the speech will be published in this week's "National Guardian". Also, I wrote an article on the various peace congresses in Europe and Asia, which has been published in the "New World Review." I am sending you copies of both in case you do not see them.

Harry Dreis was up from the Virgin Islands. He is the lawyer who has always made plans for us on our visits there. He brought a beautiful color film and we had the Hallinans and Thompsons and a few others to see it.

We have been up to Croton for a weekend and on the 21st go out to Great Neck for another weekend.

I had a very thorough Xray to be sure that there was no lurking cancer. The result was negative. Shirley is still not satisfied with my appetite but I seem to lose no weight so I presume that I am eating enough.

I hope your school work is going on well and you are not overworking as usual.

Let me hear from you or call us up sometime.

Yours with love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-11-13

March 22, 1955

Mr. Doxey Wilkerson
Jefferson School
575 Sixth Avenue
New York 11, N.Y.

My dear Wilkerson:

Shirley and I have just returned from three weeks' rest in Haiti. It was, of course, wretchedly costly, but a real and beautiful rest which I think has helped us both immeasurably. We just sat down and looked at the sun and the sea, the flowers and the mountains, met some pleasant people, American and Haitian, and saw a few sights but very few.

I thought of you and Yolande while there and did hope that in some way you were getting or planning to get rest. I have been very much upset at the way in which you are both over-working.

May I thank you and your friends for another installment on my office rent. You make me feel under very deep obligations.

My love to you and your wife. We shall hope to see you soon.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

47-10-4

202 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N. Y. (Rm 605)
Telephone: CHickering 4-0723

WINGDALE LODGE

on Lake Ellis, Wingdale, N. Y.
Camp Phone: WINGDALE 3181

May 13, 1955

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Doctor DuBois:

The Wingdale Lodge is a new inter-racial resort located in the foothills of the Berkshires.

As part of our varied activities, designed to meet the needs and interests of our guests, we have a weekly lecture series on different topics.

We would like to invite you to speak on the subject of "The Awakening Giant - Africa." We are also requesting the date, Sunday, July 10th. This usually means 20 to 30 minutes, followed by questions and discussion - at 10:00 a.m.

If you wish, we'd be happy to have as our guests you and your family for the weekend that you will speak.

I am enclosing a brochure of our Lodge for your interest and convenience.

May I hear from you as to whether this is acceptable, or whether you wish a change of date?

Many thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Clare Rodney-g
Clare Rodney

CR.g

27-15-24

May 18, 1955

Mrs. Clare Rodney
Wingdale Lodge
202 West 40 Street, Rm 605
New York 18, N.Y.

27-15-25

Dear Mrs. Rodney:

Answering your letter of May 13th may I say that I am not taking many lecture engagements now, and that my charge to come to Wingdale Lodge would be $100 plus board and travel.

I am afraid this is more than you can afford and I am sorry that I cannot make the conditions easier.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

WORKERS
BOOK SHOP
50 EAST 13th ST., N.Y.C. 3
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-6953

April 27,1955

Dear Dr.DuBois;

Please send me 10 copies of "Color and Democracy".Enclosed you will find check for same.please send receipt.

Sincerely yours
R. Baron

27-17-62

April 27, 1955

Workers Bookshop
50 East 13 Street
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

I have come into possession of 200 copies of my COLOR AND DEMOCRACY, the last of them in print.

I can let you have any or all of them at 75¢ a copy. Are you interested?

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-17-27

WORKERS
BOOK SHOP
50 EAST 13th ST., N.Y.C. 3
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-6953
209

May 18,1955

27-10-91

Gentlemen:

On April 28th.I sent you a check for $7.50 for 10 copies of "Color And Democracy" I did not get the books yet.Will you please let me know the reason?

Sincerely yours

R. Baron

Du Bois

WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

204 EAST 18TH STREET • NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK • ORCHARD 4-3193

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April 21, 1955

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In the past you have expressed your interest in the Workshop for Cultural Democracy in the most practical way, that of sending a personal contribution. We deeply appreciate your help and wish to report to you on our progress:

> During the last two years we have widely extended our work in churches, schools, and group-work agencies and for the first time we are focusing more attention on training the directors of organizations of national scope, such as the YMCA, Boy Scouts and some of the churches. During this past year we have held six training workshops for such leaders. More are being planned.

We quote from one of the many letters of appreciation:

"To me the training workshop was an exciting experience and I feel that I have had opened up for me something that will be immense value to me in my work, and which I hope to share with others."

However these workshops and demonstrations never pay for themselves so we are now seeking from various sources the financial underwriting required. We need a constant backlog of support from interested individuals like yourself.

It is through the generosity of one individual that we have been able to print 5000 copies of our manual, "KNOW YOUR NEIGHBOR", soon to be off the press. We are looking to other contributors for the needed funds to distribute this booklet.

We believe that our work helps overcome the sense of separateness and fear all about us. Therefore we appeal for your continuing support to maintain and to strengthen our work.

We thank you warmly in confident anticipation of your unfailing response.

Sincerely,

Kenneth M. Gould

Kenneth M. Gould
Co-Chairman

27-10-15

[World Assemb. for Peace] [1955]

PROPOSED AGENDA FOR THE WORLD ASSEMBLY FOR PEACE

1) Atomic weapons and disarmament.
2) Military blocs. General security. Co-operation between nations.
3) The independence of nations and the maintenance of peace.

QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE AGENDA - (I) Atomic Weapons and Disarmament

1.) Relationship of atomic weapons to the policy of strength.

2.) Consequences of the decision made on 18 December, 1954 by the N.A.T.O. Council to base its military strategy on the use of atomic weapons.

3.) Attitude of scientists, intellectuals and artists towards the atomic danger; the moral responsibility involved in the manufacture of weapons of annihilation.

4.) Economic, social and political consequences of an atomic arms race.

5.) Effects of the preparations of atomic war, and of the international tension arising from them, on public health and on culture.

6.) The banning of atomic weapons and general disarmament as a contribution to the relaxation of international tension.

7.) Practical measures for achieving general disarmement and the banning of atomic weapons.

8.) Can general disarmament and the banning and destruction of atomic weapons contribute to abolishing war?

9.) Protection of national resources of nuclear energy in the interests of their use for peaceful purposes.

10.) Possibilities created by the banning of atomic weapons and general disarmament for:
    raising the standard of living;
    developing education and all forms of cultural activity;
    developing atomic energy for peaceful uses.

(II) - Military Blocs. General Security. Cooperation between the Nations

1.) Are military blocs compatible with collective security and the security of their members?

2.) Sovereignty, military bases and the presence of foreign troops.

3.) Effects of including the German Federal Republic in N.A.T.O.

4.) Consequences for Europe of the division of Germany for a long period of time.

5.) The effects of military blocs on the relations between the countries of Asia.

6.) The increase of tension between states in the Near and Middle East.

7.) The effects of military agreements on the security of Latin American countries.

8.) Economic effects of the policy of military blocs.

9.) General security among states with different social, political and economic systems.

10.) Importance of the new conception of peaceful relations between states developed in Asia: The Five Principles and the conception of developing 'Peace Areas'.

11.) The principle on which regional security agreements need to be based in order to contribute effectively to security and peace.

12.) Collective security and the rights and interests of small nations.

13.) Ten years of U.N.O. Measures for restoring its authority and making it an effective instrument for guaranteeing general security.

14.) Possibilities of peaceful cooperation between the nations:

for the use of atomic energy;
for normalising trade;
for helping the industrialisation of under-developed countries with full respect for their sovereignty;
for the struggle against hunger and illiteracy;
for cultural exchanges.

15.) War and hate propaganda as a factor making for tension.

(III) - National Independence and the Maintenance of Peace

1.) The full enjoyment of national independence and sovereignty as a basis for peace.

2.) Pacts and military blocs as limitations on the autonomy of nations.

3.) Consequences of the maintenance of bases and foreign troops on national territory.

4.) Independence as enabling nations to act as factors of equilibrium and instruments of international tension.

5.) National independence as a factor in peaceful co-existence and the relaxation of international tension.

6.) Interference of foreign interests in internal affairs as a factor disturbing peace.

7.) Free commercial and cultural relations as a factor of friendship between peoples.

8.) The independence of nations as an essential basis for U.N.O. to work effectively.

9.) Aspects of the policy of strength which hinder the independence of colonial countries:

the setting up of military bases;
establishment of stores of strategic raw materials
and of weapons of mass destruction;
monopoly of strategic raw materials;
limitation of democratic liberties and recourse
to military measures.

10.) The defence and development of national culture as a contribution to the independence of every country, to the enrichment of world culture and to peace.

# # #

Negro newspapers

Bandung
my article

February 1, 1955

World Council of Churches
Geneva
Switzerland

Gentlemen:

You are, of course, familiar with the address of General Douglass MacArthur at Los Angeles, January 26, 1955. General MacArthur is perhaps the outstanding military leader of the world today. When such a personage declares that war today is utterly useless, this is epoch-making. I write to suggest that this entire speech be translated into all modern languages and distributed over the world. I trust you will give this idea serious attention.

27-10-92

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
enc.

WORLD FESTIVAL OF YOUTH AND STUDENTS FOR PEACE
AND FRIENDSHIP

Preparatory Committee

Warsaw, June 18, 1955

Dr. W.E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York
U.S.A.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

It is with a great deal of pleasure that we take this opportunity of extending a most warm and cordial invitation to you to participate with us in the Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship, to be held from July 31 - August 14, in Warsaw, Poland.

As you may know, it is expected that 30,000 young people, from over 100 countries, will come together at this Festival to express their desire to live side by side with one another in peace and friendship.

During the Festival, the participants will have an opportunity to meet one another in a wide variety of ways - through the cultural and sports competitions, carnivals, dances, camp-fires, social evenings, national and international concerts, film-shows, the many inter-delegation meetings and meetings of young people with the same trade, profession or interest, as well as a host of other activities.

It would be a great honour for us, and a source of tremendous encouragement and inspiration to young people everywhere, if you were able, to be with us in Warsaw, and we sincerely hope that you will be able to take advantage of our invitation. Your activities for peace and human brotherhood are known and admired by young people in all countries.

The round trip, as well as all expenses connected with your stay in Poland, will be covered by the International Preparatory Committee, and if you are able to accept our invitation, perhaps you could inform us as to the route you would plan to travel.

We look forward to receiving your reply at the earliest possible moment, and in the meantime, please accept our most cordial greetings and best wishes.

Sincerely,

(Signed) Jacques Denis
For the International Preparatory
Committee

1

31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York
July 6, 1955

Mr. Jacques Denis
International Preparatory Committee
World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship
Grojecka 17, Warszawa, Poland

42-1A-50

Dear Sir:

I have your telegram of June 15th and your kind letter of June 18th, 1955. I cannot tell you how honored I feel at the invitation to be your guest at the Festival of Youth in Warsaw, July 31st to August 14th, 1955. I have delayed my reply until I could ascertain whether or not I could obtain a passport for the journey. At this time it is utterly impossible to get transportation leaving the United States without a passport.

I have just been informed by the United States Department of State that my application has been "tentatively" disapproved, "since it has been alleged that you are a Communist and that the Congress which you wish to attend is communist inspired." My wife, Shirley Graham, who had hoped to attend the World Congress of Mothers and then accompany me to Warsaw, received an identical letter. Each communication includes copies of the regulations of the State Department refusing passports. We are referred to Sections A and C which read:

(No Passports for)

"(A) Persons who are members of the Communist Party or who have recently terminated such membership under such circumstances as to warrant the conclusion - - not otherwise rebutted by the evidence — that they have engaged in such activities as a result of direction, domination, or control exercised over them by the Communist movement.

(c) Persons, regardless of the formal state of their affiliation with the Communist Party, as to whom there is reason to believe, on the balance of all the evidence, that they are going abroad to engage in activities which will advance the Communist movement for the purpose, knowingly and willfully of advancing that movement."

I am writing the State Department alleging that these regulations are unconstitutional; that the Department has no right to enquire into my political or religious opinions and that I have a right to advocate Peace, popular education and the rights of the working masses even if the Soviet Union, Poland and China also advocate these policies. I am adding that I have held American passports for 60 years, have never been convicted of crime nor of disloyalty to this my native land and the land of my fathers for two hundred years.

While recent decisions of our courts sustain my contention, for me to obtain further decisions would cost more time and money than I have. I must therefore, and with deep regret, say that it is impossible for me to accept the kind invitation of the Preparatory Committee. I remember with lasting joy the Youth Meeting in Prague which I addressed in 1951. I only hope that the Festival of 1955 will prove the great success which it now promises. We may well rejoice that it meets in a better world than four years ago: the horrible and utterly inexcusable Korean War is done; China is free and strong and India stands for Peace and unity; Asia and Africa have spoken at Bandung, and the United States and the Soviet Union are conferring at Geneva. The era of Peace without colonialism and with coexistence of all honest beliefs and political systems dawns on a war-weary world. It is for the Youth of the World at Warsaw in 1955 to raise high this banner of civilization and to hold it aloft forever.

42-1A-51

My wife and I are grieved that we cannot stand beside you in person as we certainly do in spirit.

I am, Sir, your obliged and obedient servant,

Internaltion Peace Prizeman, 1952